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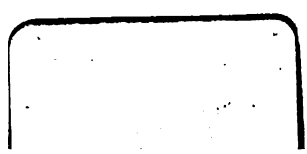

THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION

OF 1830.

LONDON:
IBOTSON AND PALMER, PRINTERS, SAVOY STREET, STRAND.

E. 7. 1831

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1830;

THE EVENTS WHICH PRODUCED IT,

AND THE

SCENES BY WHICH IT WAS ACCOMPANIED.

BY D. TURNBULL, ESQ.

LONDON:
HENRY COLBURN AND RICHARD BENTLEY,
NEW BURLINGTON STREET.
1830.

789.

PREFACE.

In sending this Volume to its public account, the Editor relies on some indulgence being extended to him in consideration of the double disadvantage under which he has been placed, in his distance from London, and in the circumstance of the despatch that has been solicited of him.

In the course of the narrative the Editor has purposely avoided pressing the names of his countrymen conspicuously forward, as participators in the noble struggle which he has undertaken to describe. The French people are conscious of the sympathy which has been felt in England, and still more by the English residents in France, for the glorious cause which was at issue in the

last week of July, 1830. They are proud of that sympathy, from the evidence it bears to the goodness of their cause, on the part of a people who have long been habituated to the forms of freedom. This feeling has produced, in all the French accounts of the Revolution, so many statements of the assistance afforded by Englishmen, that even to transcribe them would be to claim for our countrymen a degree of merit to which they cannot be entitled. When uttered by a Frenchman, such statements are not unbecoming, although tinged with some degree of generous exaggeration; but in an English work it has been thought necessary to reject unsparingly whatever could not bear the test of cool examination and inquiry.

Among the English sufferers were Mr. Madden, resident at Passy, in the neighbourhood of Paris, who, after having been dangerously wounded in the head, was pursued by one of the lancers, and owed his life to one of his own workmen, who was fighting by his side, and brought down his adversary with a pistol shot.

At Lawson's Hotel, in the Rue Saint Honoré, a young Englishman, Mr. Foulkes, was shot in

the balcony which overlooks the street, by a party of gen-d'armes, on Tuesday afternoon, soon after the commencement of the contest. It has been said, that Mr. Foulkes had shared in the struggle, and had been actively engaged in throwing stones from the window. On inquiry, however, it appears that this was not the fact, but that stones had been thrown on the military from one of the adjoining houses, and that the party exposed on the balcony had been mistaken for the actual assailants. In this hotel there were several other casualties; two of the waiters having been wounded, and a shot having passed through the hair of one of our fair countrywomen, while sitting near the window of an apartment overlooking the street.

There are a number of English gentlemen of the medical profession established in Paris, many of whom distinguished themselves by their attentions to the wounded, and more than one of them by assistance of a more hazardous nature. Among those most prominent were Dr. Bradley, Mr. Shrimpton, of the Rue Vivienne, Mr. Donaldson, and Mr. Roberts, of the London Dispensary, in the Place Vendôme. Mr. Donaldson was one

of the party who attacked and carried the Swiss barracks in the Rue de Babylone. He was also one of the first to enter the Tuileries, and afterwards formed part of the extraordinary expedition to Rambouillet.

Mr. Smith, the English printer, had long been spoken of by the French in terms of respect and attachment, from his disinterested services at the period of the second restoration, and during the occupation of the capital by the Allies. As soon as the ordinances appeared, on the 26th of July, Mr. Smith shut up his printing-office, dismissed the greater part of his workmen, and engaged, heart and hand, in the cause of liberty. In this he had the more merit, as the success of the Revolution was certainly to produce the abolition of that monopoly which added so materially to the value of his licence as a printer. Having supplied himself and his workmen with arms and ammunition, he assisted in person at the construction of the barricades, particularly those of the Porte Saint Denis, and the Porte Saint Martin. On the 27th and 28th, he acted independently as a sharp-shooter on the Boulevards; but, on the 29th, he joined the main body

in the attack on the Louvre, and was afterwards one of the first who entered the Tuileries. Just before the capture of that palace, an attempt was made to dislodge a party of the Royal Guards, who had entrenched themselves in a house at the corner of the Rue Saint Nicaise, (which communicates between the Rue Rivoli, and the Rue Saint Honoré,) from whence they had long been pouring a destructive fire upon the people.

Mr. Smith had for some time assisted in returning this fire from the opposite corner of the street, but, finding that in this position he was fighting at great disadvantage, he rushed across it, followed by two of his workmen, and two friends; and having burst into the house, ascended the staircase, entered the room, from the windows of which the Guards were firing, and, with a pistol in each hand, required the party to surrender. Finding themselves thus attacked in front and rear, the Guards were compelled to deliver up their arms, but not until one of Mr. Smith's workmen had been killed by his side, and one of his friends, M. Leblanc, had been severely wounded. Fifty or sixty muskets were thus pro-

cured, and were immediately handed over to such of the citizens as were still unprovided with arms, to assist in the final attack on the last strong-hold of the royalists.

It is not intended here to attempt an enumeration of all the instances of British gallantry which occurred in the course of this memorable struggle. But the names of Mr. Workman, Mr. Mac-Cue, the English restaurateur, of the Palais Royal, Mr. Goldsmith, the dentist, Mr. Lindo, of the house of Orr and Goldsmith, and Mr. Cartwright, of the Quartier du Petit Carreau, are all mentioned with such applause in the French accounts of the Revolution, that it would be injustice to withhold their names.

A full account will be found, in the course of this work, of the disorderly retreat of the Royalists, after their expulsion from the capital, on the 29th of July. A party of the fugitives of the Royal Guard, instead of joining the column which retired by the barrier de l'Etoile, had concealed themselves for some hours in the suburbs, and, about five o'clock in the afternoon, entered the house of Mr. Caton, clerk to Mr. Sloper, the English solicitor, who

resides in the Allée d'Antin, a small street connected with the Champs Elysées. They were upwards of thirty in number. In their flight from their pursuers, they came to ask for shelter and protection. Mr. Caton declared that he was ready to do all he could for men reduced to such an extremity; but that, being an Englishman, he was placed in a situation of great difficulty, if not of personal danger. He added, that if they would deliver up their arms, and betake themselves to his cellar, as a place of temporary security, he would himself be the bearer of their capitulation; and to prove his sincerity, would leave his wife and children behind him as hostages for their safety. To this proposal the fugitives readily agreed; and their protector, having left the house to execute his mission, soon met a strong party of the victorious citizens, whom he instantly accosted, announcing himself as an Englishman and a friend to liberty, and stating that a party of the vanquished were then his prisoners. "Trusting to your generosity," he added, "I have promised them their lives, and have left my wife and children as hostages for their safety." On this

appeal the citizens readily agreed to corroborate the pledge which Mr. Caton had given; and, on the prisoners surrendering themselves, provided them with coloured clothes in exchange for their uniforms, so as to make it safe for them to separate, and return to Paris individually, or proceed, if they preferred it, to the provisional camp which had already been established at Vaugirard, for the reception of deserters from the royalist cause.

It is satisfactory to the Editor to be able to give a statement, on the authority of the Minister of the Interior, of the total number of sufferers by the events in the French capital during the three great days of July last. In the nature of things the statement can only be an approximation to the truth, since the data it is founded upon have been obtained only by means of the applications made to participate in the fund of seven millions of francs, created by the law of the 30th of August last, for the purpose of providing a national recompense to the wounded, and to the aged parents, the widows, and children of the dead.

It appears that the number of the wounded who have not been so mutilated as to be

rendered incapable of resuming their ordinary labour, amounts to three thousand five hundred and sixty-four. Those who have suffered amputation of a limb, or have been otherwise incapacitated from their usual employments, amount to three hundred and eleven. Three hundred old men have been found entitled to the benefit of the fund, from the loss of sons on whom they depended for support. The number of widows already admitted is also three hundred; and of orphans, five hundred. The manner in which the three last numbers are stated is not so explicit as could be wished, but it suffices to show that the amount of the causualties has been greatly exaggerated in the statements which have been published; since the probability is, that claims have been advanced, from one quarter or another, in the great majority of cases; and although a single citizen could leave but one widow, it is clear that one death might produce a claim, not from the widow merely, but from the parents and the children of the deceased. The official report from which these numbers are taken is dated the 9th of October, when the whole of the claims, arising from the death of relations, amounted to

eleven hundred; but no means are afforded for reducing this number to its correct amount, in consequence of a plurality of claims having arisen from the death of the same individual.

The widows of the killed are to receive from the national fund an annuity of five hundred francs; fathers and mothers, above sixty years of age, an annuity of three hundred francs, with reversion to the survivor; orphans under seven years of age, an annuity of two hundred and fifty francs. Between the ages of seven and eighteen, the latter are to be educated at the public expense, in special establishments created for that purpose, where they are to receive instruction suited to their sex, and calculated to insure them their means of livelihood. As to the wounded, those who have suffered the loss of a limb, or any equivalent casualty, are to have the option of being admitted into the Hotel des Invalides, or of receiving the annuity paid to the out-pensioners of that institution; and those who have not been permanently disabled, are to receive a present payment, as an indemnity, to be fixed in each particular case by the committee appointed by the Chamber of Deputies. Of the

seven millions of francs voted by the Chamber, four millions six hundred thousand have been applied to the purchase of annuities, and the remainder to the payment of these immediate indemnities.

Rue Neuve St. Augustin, No. 59.
26*th October,* 1830.

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Rue
de la Paix

PARIS IN 1830.

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Remarks on the position and conduct of the Bourbon family in France—Insincere promises given at the Restoration—Re-invasion of France, after the Battle of Waterloo—Anecdote, explanatory of the feeling with regard to the Bourbons, among the Allies in 1814, and the French people in 1815—Summary of the course pursued by Louis XVIII—Recognition of the Charter, the result of prudence, rather than inclination—Assassination of the Duke de Berri, and accession of M. de Villèle to the Ministry—Influence of the counter-revolutionary Party—Its increase, through the failure of the Insurrection in Spain—Commencement of the reign of Charles X.—The National Guard disbanded—Machinations against the Liberty of the Press—Creation of new Peerages, for political purposes—Its effect counteracted by the new Elections to the Chamber of Deputies—Accession of the Martignac Ministry—Its popularity and overthrow—The Polignac Administration—Cabals and quarrels—Assembly and Dissolution of the Chambers—Individual changes in the Ministry, with the object of furthering the arbitrary measures in contemplation.

Of Charles X. and his family it may be said, with as much truth as of any of their predecessors of the house of Bourbon, that in prosperity as in adversity, they learn nothing, and they forget nothing. A quarter of a century of

exile and misfortune proved to them a useless and unprofitable lesson. Replaced on the throne of their ancestors, by a train of extraordinary events which no human foresight could anticipate, they brought back with them all the prejudices of the *ancien regime*, and as little knowledge of their own interests, or those of the country they were called to govern, as they possessed at the period of their first emigration. Driven for the third time into exile by a revolution which has no parallel in history, it cannot be said, that they have fallen into the abyss, prepared for them by the faction into whose hands they had thrown themselves, without due warning of their danger. But, in place of listening to the voice of public opinion, as declared by its organs of the press, or as more solemnly communicated through the legitimate medium of the representative chamber, the king, as if to verify the words of the poet,

"Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat,"

set his seal to those illegal ordinances, which suspended the liberty of the press, dissolved a legislative body, which had never assembled, and formally disfranchised three-fourths of the electors.

Independently of the principle which, in a constitutional monarchy, exempts the sovereign from all personal responsibility for the acts of his government, the fallen monarch must, in any sense,

be rather regarded as the instrument than the author of the crime committed in his name. The princes of this unfortunate family have some claim to our commiseration, even when they have not entitled themselves to our respect or esteem. We are bound to remember the prejudices under which they have been educated. The objects, from their cradle, of every species of homage and adulation, they grow up, live and die in the deepest ignorance of their own situation, and of all that is passing around them. They are taught to believe that they are the special objects of the divine protection; that their origin and their race are superior to those of other men. They constantly hear of their rights, which are unblushingly exaggerated by a train of flatterers and parasites; but no one ever ventures to speak to them of their duties. Surrounded by priests and jesuits, who have proverbially neither family nor country, their first lesson is to place implicit confidence in their clerical advisers, and their last consists in

"The right divine of kings to govern wrong."

The military despotism of Napoleon, and the apprehension lest his downfall might be succeeded by a state of anarchy and confusion, paved the way, even more, perhaps, than the arms of the allies, for the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty. On the re-appearance of the restored

princes on the territory of France, their first promises were the abolition of the law of conscription, by which the people had been annually decimated—and of that oppressive and inquisitorial system of taxation which, under the imperial government, had pressed so heavily on the industry of the people. But as soon as they found themselves firmly seated on the throne, their early promises were forgotten, the conscription and the *droits reunis* were re-established, or changed but in name; and the plebeian soldier, who might formerly, by risking his life, enjoy the prospect of the highest military honours, was now condemned to perpetual obscurity; rank was now exclusively reserved for the members of titled families; the military household of the king was exclusively composed of young noblesse; the regiments were deprived of their historic names; and the army, which was resigned rather than devoted, soon lost all its moral power and influence.

When the first impulse of enthusiasm had subsided, after the extraordinary re-appearance of Napoleon in 1815, the French people did not fail to remember the evils to which he had formerly subjected them; nor, after proclaiming as they had done the sovereignty of the nation, were they disposed to endure the assumption of the constituent power which he virtually arrogated by the imposition of his celebrated *acte*

additionnel to the constitutions of the empire. It was not for the sake of Napoleon, after this new usurpation, that the armed population of France assembled under his banner; it was for the patriotic purpose of driving from the French frontier the foreign armies, by which their territory was threatened.

When France was again invaded, after the battle of Waterloo, the Bourbons re-appeared in the train of the conquerors, whom they called their allies. An anecdote, which was widely circulated in France at the period of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the truth of which, it is believed, has never been disputed, throws some light on the circumstances which produced this restoration; and confirms the idea, that the exiled family were not even thought of by the allies in 1814; and that they certainly were not desired by the nation, on their re-appearance in France the following year.

The Emperor Alexander, during his residence at Aix-la-Chapelle, at the time of the Congress, had announced his resolution to pay a visit to the great woollen manufactory of M. Ludwig, at Bois-Pauline, and accepted the *dejeûné* which was offered to him by the proprietor. The room in which the entertainment was given, was adorned with engravings representing the principal events in the career of Napoleon. The attention of M. Ludwig's illustrious visitor was particularly attracted by that which exhibited the celebrated in-

terview between the two emperors on the Niemen. At that time, it was the fashion to speak of Napoleon in the most abusive terms; and M. Ludwig naturally waited with some anxiety, until his imperial guest should give some expression to the feelings which had evidently been excited by his examination of the engraving. "Very true, very true," said the emperor, at length; "but why did he not do as much on the Loire in 1815, instead of throwing himself into the hands of the English? He might have done it; and if he had, he would still have been emperor of the French."

"But the house of Bourbon?"—interposed M. Ludwig.

"The house of Bourbon!—Yes, you are right," the Emperor Alexander replied; "the Bourbons were then an obstacle; but he might have done it in 1814, when they had not been thought of in the war."

Between the two princes of the fallen family, who have occupied the throne of France since the period of the restoration, the points of contrast are, perhaps, more numerous, than even those of resemblance, compared with his surviving brother. Louis XVIII. was a man of talent and intelligence; he yielded with readiness and grace to the demand for a constitutional charter; and made no attempt, of his own motive, to infringe or recall the rights and privileges conceded by that charter to the nation. The restored throne was soon surrounded, it is

true, by a crowd of emigrant noblesse, who, after suffering the privations of a long exile, were employed, endowed, and pensioned at the court of the prince with whom, and for whom, they had so long been sufferers. But it was in that pavilion of the palace of the Tuileries, which formed the residence of the Count d'Artois and his family, that the party was formed, which was known by the name of "the *counter-revolution*," whose maxim it was, that a king of France should depend only on God and his sword, adopting the favourite device of Louis XIV., "*Un roi, une loi, une foi.*" Louis XVIII. was, doubtless, as much attached to the principles of arbitrary power as was the heir presumptive to the throne; but, more enlightened, or more prudent, he did not venture to carry them into execution. There was but one member of the royal family who was completely free from the influence of the apostolical, or counter-revolutionary faction; and he, in issuing from a theatre in the Rue Richelieu, on the 13th of February, 1820, at eleven o'clock in the evening, fell by the hands of an assassin.

The assassination of the Duke de Berri was speedily followed by the resignation of M. Decazes from the cabinet, and the accession of M. de Villèle, who till then had only been known by his celebrated protest against the charter, and his steady opposition to the organization and establishment of free institutions in France.

Under this new cabinet, which soon acquired the title of the deplorable administration, the influence of the Congregation and the Camarilla, (as the two leading sections of the counter-revolutionary party were variously denominated,) was gradually increased. At the head of the Camarilla was the Prince de Polignac, who earned his title to that distinction by the obstinacy with which, for two years, he had refused to take the oath to the new charter. But the superior tactics of M. de Villèle enabled him, first, to clear the council of all who were not prepared to yield implicit obedience to its new president, and afterwards to secure that compact majority of three hundred in the Chamber of Deputies, which the septennial act had placed for so many years at his disposal.

The cry for liberty and independence which arose, for the second time, beyond the Pyrenees, produced a new triumph for the reigning faction in France. Tired of a tyranny, as stupid as it was sanguinary, the Spanish liberals raised once more the standard of insurrection. A crusade was resolved on; a French army was marched against a people who had risen in defence of their freedom and their rights; the Duke d'Angouleme was placed at its head; and, by the success of his enterprize, a double triumph was obtained for the faction, whose creature he had allowed himself to become.

For a year before the death of Louis XVIII. he had ceased to be the king *de facto*. Confined

to a sick bed, he had virtually abandoned the reins of government, which had been usurped by the party of the Pavillon Marsan. In the salons of the Faubourg St. Germain it was already considered *le bon ton* to stigmatize the dying monarch in the midst of his infirmities, with the titles of jacobin and *philosophe;* and to such an extremity did the apostolicals carry their presumption, that the remains of a monarch, who, for twenty-eight years, had borne the title of his Most Christian Majesty, were suffered to be interred without Christian burial.

On the accession of Charles X., it became a serious question, whether the charter, which had been granted by his predecessor, should be recognized and sworn to by the new monarch on the occasion of his coronation. The hesitation which he then evinced may be regarded as at once a proof of honesty and ignorance. The party by whom he was surrounded did not feel themselves strong enough to advise his refusal. The oath prescribed by the charter was solemnly pronounced at Rheims; but, as it now appears, with some mental reservation, or with the advantage of that plenary indulgence and dispensation, at the disposal of those who had the keeping of the royal conscience.

One of the first measures of the new reign consisted in the arrangements which were made, in the first instance, for weakening, and, at length, for finally abolishing, the National Guards

which had been re-established in the crisis of 1814, and had ever since been maintained. The chief objection which arose to it, was probably found in the ready means it afforded of establishing a system of communication between the more respectable inhabitants of the same district, or the same commune. The first encroachment consisted in the deprivation of the right of the privates to elect their own officers: a general disorganization of this great national armament was the natural and necessary consequence of this unpopular arrangement. And, finally, about three years ago, the regiments of the capital, and of all those departments where the remotest danger was to be apprehended, were formally disbanded. Although the preliminary arrangements adopted by the ministry for the attainment of this object had been conducted with becoming caution, the manner in which the decisive blow was struck was equally sudden and unexpected. During the previous reign it had been customary for Louis XVIII., on the 3rd of May, the anniversary of his public entry into Paris, to direct that the service of the Tuileries should for that day be exclusively performed by the National Guard, in acknowledgment of the protection afforded by that body to the royal family at the period of the restoration. At the accession of Charles X., the day was only changed from the 3rd of May, to that on which the Count d'Artois had entered Paris, which had

been the 12th of April. On that day in 1827, as in previous years, the guard performed the duty of the Tuileries; and, on the 16th of the month, a general order was issued by the commander-in-chief, announcing his majesty's satisfaction with their deportment on the occasion. By the same general order it was intimated, that the king had resolved to evince the good opinion he entertained of the National Guard of Paris, by passing in review the thirteen legions of which it was composed, on the 29th of April. On that day, accordingly, the Champ de Mars presented a display of all the splendour of the court, and of all that was brilliant or distinguished in the capital and its environs. The king was saluted with loud, if not with cordial acclamations. The cries of "*Vive le Roi!*" "*Vive la Charte!*" were however occasionally interrupted by murmurs, not loud, but deep, of "*à bas les ministres—à bas les Jesuites!*"

To each legion the king addressed himself in terms of approbation. Personally, his majesty had been perfectly well received, not only by the national troops, but by the assembled population, which was estimated to amount to at least 200,000 souls. Some kind friend, however, had doubtless pointed out to him the occasional and unwelcome cry of "Down with the ministry;" and, on his return to the Tuileries, he observed to one of the marshals in attendance on his per-

son, that the business of the day had not passed quite so well as he had expected, but that on the whole, he was satisfied. On the same day the commander-in-chief expressed to the troops on the field the king's entire approbation of their appearance and deportment; an order of the day to the same effect was forthwith prepared, and, after receiving his majesty's concurrence, was carried to the office of the Moniteur, for publication on the following morning. Within a few hours, however, the business assumed a different aspect; the king was made to say, that it was not advice, but homage that he had gone to receive; and instead of the royal approbation appearing in the Moniteur on the 30th of April, that organ of government contained an ordonnance, by which the national guard was disbanded.

The apprehensions entertained by M. de Villèle and his colleagues on this occasion, were strongly evinced by the military preparations which had been made on the eve of the review. A strong park of artillery had been brought from the castle of Vincennes, on the other side of Paris, to the Ecole Militaire, which is in the immediate neighbourhood of the Champ de Mars. The horses of the train remained in harness, and the artillerymen stood with lighted matches at their guns throughout the morning. The regiments of the guard were posted in the Bois de Boulogne; the courts of the Hotel des Invalides

were filled with Swiss under arms; even the veteran companies were on duty, and nothing was left undone in the way of preparation, to convert the Champ de Mars, on a day of cheerfulness and gaiety, into a scene of possible strife and slaughter. Such was the last meeting of the brave National Guard.

It was soon after this period, that the ex-minister, Peyronnet, who was then a member of the Villèle administration, brought down to the Chamber of peers his celebrated bill for the destruction of the liberty of the press. To this measure, which was called in derision, "La loi de justice et d'amour," the hereditary chamber had the courage, or the presumption, to refuse its sanction; but M. de Villèle, who has always been so fertile in expedients, thought that by a fresh infusion of royalism into the upper house—by the creation of a new batch of peers from among the retainers of the court, this constitutional majority might easily be overcome. The idea was accordingly carried into effect on the 15th of November 1827, when an ordinance appeared in the Moniteur, countersigned by the president of the council, by which, on a single day, no less than seventy-six new peerages were created.

It is true, that M. de Villèle, in the short period which had elapsed since the date of the restoration, had more than one precedent to

quote for this wholesale process of peer-making. In 1814, the hereditary Chamber was limited to ninety-one members; but in the following year, it received an addition of eighty-seven. This was found necessary, in order to enable the restored government to controul the original ninety-one, most of whom had sitten in the imperial senate, or, as successful soldiers, were attached to the cause of the revolution. Under a new administration, and a new system of government in 1819, it was found that sixty additional peers were required to neutralize the influence of the last eighty-seven, who, by the unmeasured violence of their proceedings, had made the Chamber more royalist than Louis XVIII. himself, or the ministry by whose advice he was at that time directed. To restore the balance which had thus been disturbed, a further creation took place in 1824, of twenty-three new peers, after the accession of M. de Villèle to the cabinet; but, as the upper Chamber was still found to be unmanageable on a question of such vital importance as the liberty of the press, the premier adopted the bold expedient of adding such a number to the peerage, as, with intermediate creations, converted the original cypher of ninety-one, into the formidable total of three hundred and fifty-seven. It will be seen in the sequel, that the whole of these intruders have been cleared out of the Chamber at one fell swoop, by

a single clause of the new charter, declaring the absolute nullity of all the peerages created during the reign of Charles X.

In the meantime, the plans of M. de Villèle and of his colleagues de Peyronnet and Corbière were defeated on the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, by a series of elections which left them no chance of retaining that decisive majority they had previously been able to command. The triumvirate were not yet prepared for the consequences of a decisive *coup d'état*, and, they having retired from office, a new ministry was formed of less unpopular materials, in which M. Portalis was called to the department of justice, M. Martignac to the interior, and M. Roi to the Treasury. The war department was nominally assigned to M. de Caux, but with the understanding that the patronage should be reserved to the Duke d' Angouleme; and M. de Saint-Cricq was entrusted with the portfolio of commerce and the colonies.

The Villèle administration remained longer in power than any cabinet which has been formed since the restoration. Those by which it was preceded were each on an average scarcely a year in possession of office, since between 1814 and 1822 there existed not fewer than eight distinct administrations. It was thought that, in deference to public opinion, the members of the deplorable cabinet would not be distinguished by

any mark of royal favour; but the public mind was speedily disabused of this idea, by the appearance of two separate ordinances, bearing the same date with that which nominated their successors, appointing Villèle and Peyronnet, Damas, Clermont, Tonnerre and Corbière, ministers of state, and members of his majesty's privy council, and raising to the peerage, with additional pensions, the three who had chiefly excited the public indignation, viz. Villèle, Corbière, and Peyronnet.

The Martignac ministry having assumed the reins of government, under the auspices of a constitutional majority in the representative Chamber, appeared to have adopted the resolution of carrying into effect the principles of the charter, and pursuing a course in conformity with public opinion. In fulfilment of the promises which had been admitted into the speech from the throne, at the opening of the session of the legislature, a law was enacted, which emancipated the press from the trammels to which it had previously been subjected, particularly from that regulation which made a preliminary sanction indispensable. To this important amelioration a series of improvements were added, with reference to the law of elections.

On the retirement of M. de la Ferronnez from a situation which he found to be no longer tenable, a variety of changes took place among the

heads of departments, and an attempt was made to restore M. de Villèle, the representative of the Congregation, to his former office of president of the council. The proposal immediately produced the tender of his resignation from every member of the cabinet who attached any importance to public opinion: and a subsequent attempt to bring forward the Prince de Polignac and place him at the head of affairs, was promptly attended by a similar result.

The monarch, meanwhile, never suffered the affairs of state, or the changes in his ministry, to interfere with his ordinary pursuits. His first duty in the morning was to hear, or, as some have gravely asserted, to *say* mass in his private chapel. After an early breakfast, he would go out and kill some hundred head of game, which were driven within range of the royal sportsman's *Manton*, by an army of *gardes de chasse*. His ordinary dinner-hour was six, and at eight the Duchess de Berri came to him to make one of his party at whist, which lasted till ten, when he went to say his prayers and to sleep, preparatorily to the renewal of the same routine on the morrow.

Thus had matters proceeded in the ordinary train, without any external demonstration of what was passing in that cabal of absolutism by whose inspirations the king was at all times ready to be swayed. The dismissal of the Martignac minis-

try had, however, been resolved on by this secret council, long before the design had been entrusted to the royal ear. On the 7th of August, 1829, M. Martignac and his colleagues were received by his majesty with every mark of gracious consideration; they left the royal presence well satisfied with their reception; but on the following day they were no longer the ministers of the crown.

The Moniteur of the 8th of August contained the appointment of Polignac and Labourdonnaye, Courvoisier and de Rigny, de Montbel, de Chabrol, and de Bourmont, as the members of the new cabinet. Admiral de Rigny, however, refused to act with such colleagues, lest he should tarnish the laurels he had gained at Navarin, or make himself the accomplice of what was well known to be the result of a court intrigue. He was replaced by M. d'Haussez, who although perhaps better fitted by his previous administrative functions to conduct the official details in the bureau of minister of marine, could neither bring to the new ministry the popularity they so much needed, nor the knowledge of maritime affairs possessed by M. de Rigny. The admiral's resignation was speedily followed by that of Viscount de Chateaubriand of his embassy at the papal see, and of M. de Belleyme of the most valuable in the gift of the crown, the important office of prefect of police.

But, although the substitution of M. Mangin for M. de Belleyme was far from being agreeable to the inhabitants of Paris, it was not regarded as so open an insult to the good sense and the honour of the nation, as the elevation of General Bourmont, the deserter of Waterloo, to the head of the war department.

A quarrel at length ensued between Labourdonnaye and Polignac, the leaders of the two parties into which the cabinet was known to be divided. Originally the administration had been professedly formed on the principle of perfect equality among the heads of the departments of which it was composed. The Prince de Polignac, however, soon evinced a disposition to assume the rank and authority of premier. To this arrangement the Count de Labourdonnaye refused to submit; a dispute arose on some insignificant topic; the prince was asked by his colleague, if he was afraid of the revolutionary party? "Neither of them, nor of you," was the answer. The appointment of M. de Polignac as president of the council appeared in next morning's Moniteur, and M. de Labourdonnaye retired from the ministry.

In the meantime, the Chambers had assembled; and the deputies having voted an address, which was far from being palatable either to the monarch or his ministers, that Chamber was

forthwith prorogued, and soon afterwards dissolved.

It was still found, that the cabinet was not sufficiently self-accordant in its views. It contained a majority, consisting of de Montbel and Courvoisier, de Chabrol and d'Haussez, who were known to be moderate in principle, and who were almost disposed to be reasonable in action. It was necessary to get rid of such of them as entertained some scruples as to the measures in contemplation—to the effect, at least, of giving a decided preponderance to those who were prepared to go all lengths with their chief. On the resignation of M. de Labourdonnaye, M. de Montbel exchanged the portfolio of public instruction, for that of the home department, and made way for the elevation of an obscure individual, M. Guernon Ranville, to the superintendence of the university, which includes the whole system of education in France. The changes which arose on the retirement of Courvoisier and de Chabrol were more considerable and more important. M. de Montbel, with his usual complaisance, passed from the home department to the treasury, to make way for the Count de Peyronnet, who became minister of the interior. M. de Chantelauze—a kind of second edition of M. de Ranville—was appointed keeper of the seals; and, to give greater weight to the

party, a new department was created for the Baron Capelle, by separating the charge of the canals, highways, and public works, from the duties of minister of the interior. Courvoisier and Chabrol retired. By this arrangement, the premier was supposed to have acquired an accession of eloquence, in the person of Chantelauze—of dexterity, in the Baron Capelle—and of courage, in the Count de Peyronnet. The report on which the treasonable edicts proceed, may be taken as a specimen of the eloquence of the cabinet, in their collective capacity; and their dexterity is evinced by the fact, that on the 24th of July, at the moment when that report, and these ordinances, must either have been prepared, or in the act of preparation, the sign manual of the king, and the countersign of his advisers, were affixed to the *lettres closes* addressed to the peers and the deputies, requiring them to attend his majesty, at the opening of the session, on the 3d of August: and whatever may be said of the other qualities possessed by the ministers individually, there seems, at least, to have been no want of that fatal courage evinced in every line of their atrocious ordinances.

CHAPTER II.

Containing at full length the Report of the Ministry, and the Royal Ordinances of the 25th July, 1830.

THAT the ordinances of the 25th of July, which were the immediate and exciting cause of the glorious revolution, may be placed in that conspicuous point of view best fitted to gibbet them for future fame, the present chapter is exclusively reserved for their reception, and for that of the joint report of the cabinet from which they proceeded.

REPORT, &c.

"SIRE,

"Your ministers would be little worthy of the confidence with which your majesty honours them, if they longer delayed to place before your eyes a view of our internal situation, and to point out to your high wisdom the dangers of the periodical press.

"At no time for these fifteen years has this situation presented itself under a more serious and more afflicting aspect. Notwithstanding an actual prosperity, of which our annals afford no example, signs of disorganization and symptoms of anarchy manifest themselves at almost every point of the kingdom.

"The successive causes which have concurred to weaken the springs of the monarchical government tend now to impair and to change the nature of it. Stripped of its moral force, authority, both in the capital and the provinces, no longer contends, but at a disadvantage, with the factions. Pernicious and subversive doctrines, loudly professed, are spread and propagated among all classes of the population. Alarms, too generally credited, agitate people's minds, and trouble society. On all sides the present is called upon for pledges of security for the future.

"An active, ardent, indefatigable malevolence, labours to ruin all the foundations of order, and to snatch from France the happiness she enjoys under the sceptre of her kings. Skilful in turning to advantage all discontents, and in exciting all hatreds, it foments among the people a spirit of distrust and hostility towards power, and endeavours to sow everywhere the seeds of trouble and civil war; and already, Sire, recent events have proved that political passions, hitherto confined to the upper portion of society, begin to penetrate the depths of it, and to stir up the popular classes. It is proved also, that these masses can never move without danger, even to those who endeavour to rouse them from repose.

"A multitude of facts collected in the course of the electoral operations confirm these data, and would offer us the too certain presage of new commotions, if it were not in the power of your majesty to avert the misfortune.

"Everywhere also, if we observe with attention,

there exists a necessity for order, for strength, and for durability: and the agitations which appear to be the most opposed to that necessity, are in reality only the expression and the testimony of its existence.

"It must be acknowledged that these agitations, which cannot be increased without great dangers, are almost exclusively produced and excited by the liberty of the press. A law on the elections, no less fruitful of disorders, has doubtless concurred in maintaining them; but it would be denying what is evident, to refuse to perceive in the journals the principal focus of a corruption, the progress of which is every day more sensible, and the first source of the calamities which threaten the kingdom.

"Experience, Sire, speaks more loudly than theory. Men who are doubtless enlightened, and whose good faith is not suspected, led away by the ill-understood example of a neighbouring people, may have believed that the advantages of the periodical press would balance its inconveniences, and that its excesses would be neutralized by contrary excesses. It is not so: the proof is decisive, and the question is now settled in the public mind.

"*At all times*, in fact, *the periodical press has been*, AND IT IS IN ITS NATURE TO BE, *only an instrument of* DISORDER *and* SEDITION.

"What numerous and irrefragable proofs may be brought in support of this truth! It is by the violent and incessant action of the press that the too sudden and too frequent variations of our internal policy are to be explained. It has not permitted a regular and stable system of government to be established in France, nor any constant attention to be devoted to the introduction, into all the branches of the administration, of those ameliorations of which they are susceptible. All the ministries since 1814, though formed under divers influences, and

subject to opposite directions, have been exposed to the same attacks and to the same licence of the passions. Sacrifices of every kind, concessions of power, alliances of party—nothing has been able to save them from this common destiny.

" This comparison alone, so fertile in reflections, would suffice to assign to the press its true, its invariable character. It endeavours, by constant, persevering, daily-repeated efforts, to relax all the bonds of obedience and subordination, to weaken all the springs of public authority, to degrade and debase it in the opinion of the people, to create against it everywhere embarrassment and resistance.

" Its art consists not in substituting for a too easy submission of mind a prudent liberty of examination, but in reducing to a problem the most positive truths; not in exciting upon political questions frank and useful controversy, but in placing them in a false light, and solving them by sophistry.

" The press has thus excited confusion in the most upright minds,—has shaken the most firm convictions, and produced, in the midst of society, a confusion of principles which lends itself to the most fatal attempts. It is by anarchy in doctrine, that it paves the way for anarchy in the state. It is worthy of remark, Sire, that the periodical press has not even fulfilled its most essential condition,—that of publicity! It is strange, but a thing that may be said with truth, that there is no publicity in France, taking this word in its just and strict sense. In this state of things, facts, *when they are not entirely fictitious*, do not come to the knowledge of several millions of readers, except when mutilated and disfigured in the most odious manner. A thick cloud, raised by the journals, conceals the truth, and in a manner intercepts the light between the government and the people. The kings your predecessors,

Sire, always loved to communicate with their subjects: this is a satisfaction which the press has not thought fit that your majesty should enjoy (!)

"A licentiousness which has passed all bounds has, in fact, not respected, even on the most solemn occasions, either the express will of the king or the words pronounced from the throne. Some have been misunderstood and misinterpreted; while others have been the subject of perfidious commentaries, or of bitter derision. It is thus that the last act of the royal power,—the proclamation,—was discredited by the public, even before it was known by the electors.

"Nor is this all. The press tends to no less than subjugating the sovereignty, and invading the powers of the state. The pretended organ of public opinion, it aspires to direct the debates of the two Chambers; it is incontestable that it brings into them the weight of an influence no less fatal than decisive. This domination has assumed, especially within these two or three years, in the Chamber of Deputies, a manifest character of oppression and tyranny. In this interval of time, we have seen the journals pursue, with their insults and their outrages, the members whose votes appeared to them uncertain or suspicious. Too often, Sire, has the freedom of debate in that chamber sunk under the reiterated blows of the press.

"The conduct of the opposition journals during the most recent circumstances cannot be characterized in terms less severe. After having themselves called forth an address derogatory to the prerogative of the throne, they have not feared to confirm as a principle, the election of the two hundred and twenty-one deputies whose work it is: and yet your majesty repulsed the address as offensive; you had publicly planned the refusal of concurrence which was expressed in it; you had announced your immutable resolution to de-

fend the rights of your crown, so openly compromised. The periodical journals have paid no regard to this: on the contrary, they have taken it upon them to renew, to perpetuate, and to aggravate the offence. Your majesty will decide whether this presumptuous attack shall remain longer unpunished.

" But of all the excesses of the press, the most serious perhaps remains to be pointed out. From the very beginning of that expedition, the glory of which throws so pure and so durable a splendour on the noble crown of France, the press has criticised with unheard-of violence the causes, the means, the preparations, the chances of success. Insensible to the national honour, it was not its fault if our flag did not remain degraded by the insults of a barbarian. Indifferent to the great interests of humanity, it has not been its fault if Europe has not remained subject to a cruel slavery and a shameful tribute.

" This was not enough. By a treachery which our laws might have reached, the press has eagerly published all the secrets of the armament; brought to the knowledge of foreigners the state of our forces, the number of our troops, and that of our ships; and pointed out the stations, the means to be employed to surmount the variableness of the winds, and to approach the coast. Every thing, even the place of landing, was divulged, as if to give the enemy more certain means of defence; and, (a thing unheard-of among civilized people,) the press has not hesitated, by false alarms as to the dangers to be incurred, to cause discouragement in the army; and, to point to its hatred the commander of the enterprise, it has, in a manner, excited the soldiers to raise against him the standard of revolt, or to desert their colours. This is what the organs of a party which pretends to be national have dared to do.

" That which the party dares to do every day in the

interior of the kingdom tends to no less than to disperse the elements of public peace, to dissolve the bands of society, and, as it were, to make the ground tremble under our feet. Let us not fear to disclose here the whole extent of our evils, in order the better to appreciate the whole extent of our resources. A system of defamation, organized on a great scale, and directed with unequalled perseverance, reaches, either near at hand or at a distance, the most humble of the agents of the government. None of your subjects, Sire, is secure from insult, if he receives from his sovereign the least mark of confidence or satisfaction. A vast net thrown over France envelopes all the public functionaries. Placed in a constant state of accusation, they seem to be in a manner cut off from civil society; only those are spared whose fidelity wavers,—only those are praised whose fidelity gives way: the others are marked by the faction to be in the sequel, without doubt, sacrificed to popular vengeance.

"The periodical press has not displayed less ardour in pursuing with its poisoned darts religion and her priests. Its object is, and always will be, to root out of the heart of the people even the last germ of religious sentiments. Sire, do not doubt that it will succeed in this, by attacking the foundations of the press itself, by poisoning the sources of public morals, and by covering the ministers of the altars with derision and contempt.

"No strength, it must be confessed, is able to resist a dissolving power so active; since the press at all times, when it has been freed from its fetters, has made an irruption and convulsion in the state. One cannot but be singularly struck with the similitude of its effects during these last fifteen years, notwithstanding the change of circumstances, and of the men who have figured on the political stage. Its destiny, in a word, is to recommence the revolution, the principles of which it loudly proclaims. Placed and replaced at various

intervals under the yoke of the censorship, it has always resumed its liberty only to recommence its interrupted work. In order to continue it with the more success, it has found an active auxiliary in the departmental press, which, engaging in dispute local jealousies and hatreds, striking terror into the minds of timid men, and harassing authority by endless intrigues, has exercised a decisive influence on the elections.

"These last effects, Sire, are transitory; but effects more durable are observed in the manners and in the character of the nation. An ardent, lying, and passionate spirit of contention, the school of scandal and licentiousness, has everywhere produced the most important alterations: it gives a false direction to people's minds: it fills them with prejudices—diverts them from serious studies—retards them in the progress of the sciences and the arts—excites among us a fermentation, which is constantly increasing—maintains, even in the bosom of our families, fatal dissensions— and might, by degrees, throw us back into barbarism.

"Against so many evils, engendered by the periodical press, law and justice are equally obliged so confess their want of power. It would be superfluous to inquire into the causes which have weakened the power of repression, and have insensibly made it an ineffectual weapon in the hands of authority. It is sufficient to appeal to experience, and to show the present state of things.

"*Judicial forms do not easily lend themselves to an effectual repression.* This truth has long since struck reflecting minds; it has lately become still more evident. To satisfy the wants which caused its institution, the repression ought to be prompt and strong; it has been slow, weak, and almost null. When it interferes, the mischief is already accomplished, and the punishment, far from repairing it, only adds the scandal of discussion.

"Judicial prosecutions are wearied out, but the se-

ditious press is never weary. The one stops because there is too much to prosecute: the other multiplies its strength by multiplying its transgressions. Under these divers circumstances the prosecutions have had their appearances of activity or of relaxation. But what does the press care for zeal or lukewarmness in the public prosecutor? It seeks to find the assurance of multiplying its successes by impunity.

"The insufficiency, or rather the inutility, of the institutions and of the laws now in force, is demonstrated by facts. It is equally proved by facts that the public safety is endangered by the licentiousness of the press.

"Give ear, Sire, to the prolonged cry of indignation and of terror which rises from all points of your kingdom. All peaceable men, the upright, the friends of order, stretch to your majesty their suppliant hands. All implore you to preserve them from the return of the calamities by which their fathers or themselves have been so severely afflicted. These alarms are too real not to be listened to—these wishes are too legitimate not to be regarded.

"There is but one means to satisfy them: *it is to return to the charter.*

"If the terms of the 8th article are ambiguous, its spirit is manifest. It is certain that the charter has not asserted the liberty of the journals and of periodical writings. The right of publishing one's personal opinions certainly does not imply the right of publishing the opinions of others. The one is the use of a faculty which the law might leave free or subject to restrictions: the other is a commercial speculation, which, like others, and more than others, supposes the superintendence of the public authority.

"The intentions of the charter on this subject are accurately explained in the law of the 21st of October,

1814, which is, in some measure, the appendix to it: this is the less doubtful, as this law was presented to the Chambers on the 5th of July—that is to say, one month after the promulgation of the charter. In 1819, at the time when a contrary system prevailed in the Chambers, it was openly proclaimed there that the periodical press was not governed by the enactments of the 8th article. This truth is, besides, attested by the very laws which have imposed upon the journals the condition of giving securities.

" Now, Sire, nothing remains but to inquire how *this return to the charter*, and to the law of the 21st of October, 1814, is to be effected. The gravity of the present juncture has solved this question.

" We must not deceive ourselves,—we are no longer in the ordinary condition of a representative government. The principles on which such has been established could not remain entire amidst political vicissitudes. A turbulent democracy, the principles of which have penetrated even into our laws, aims at putting itself in the place of legitimate power. It disposes of the majority of the elections by means of the journals, and by the assistance of numerous artifices. It has paralyzed, as far as it could do, the regular exercise of the most essential prerogative of the crown—that of dissolving the elective chamber. By this very fact the constitution of the state is shaken. Your majesty alone retains the power to replace and to consolidate it upon a firm foundation.

" The right as well as the duty of assuring its maintenance, is the inseparable attribute of the sovereignty. No government on earth could remain standing, if it had not the right to provide for its own security. This power exists before the laws, because it is essentially in the nature of things. These, Sire, are maxims which have in their favour the sanction of time, and the assent of all the *publicistes* of Europe

" But these maxims have another sanction still more positive—that of the charter itself. The 14th article has invested your majesty with a sufficient power, not, undoubtedly, to change our institutions, but to consolidate them, and render them more stable.

" Circumstances of imperious necessity do not permit the exercise of this supreme power to be any longer deferred. The moment is come for recourse to measures which are in the spirit of the charter, but which are beyond the limits of legal order, the resources whereof have been exhausted in vain.

" These measures, Sire, your ministers, who are to secure the success of them, do not hesitate to propose to you, convinced as they are, that justice will retain the ascendancy.

" We are, with the most profound respect, Sire, your majesty's most humble and most faithful subjects,

(Signed) " Prince de POLIGNAC.
" CHANTELAUZE.
" Baron D'HAUSSEZ.
" Count de PEYRONNET.
" MONTBEL.
" Count de GUERNON RANVILLE.
" Baron CAPELLE.

ORDINANCES OF THE KING.

" CHARLES, &c.

" To all to whom these presents shall come, health.

" On the report of our council of ministers, we have ordained and do ordain as follows:—

" Art. 1. The liberty of the periodical press is suspended.

" 2. The regulations of the articles 1st, 2nd, and 9th, of the first section of the law of the 21st of October

1814, are again put in force; in consequence of which no journal, or periodical, or semi-periodical writing, established, or about to be established, without distinction of the matters therein treated, shall appear in Paris or in the departments, except by the virtue of an authority first obtained from us respectively by the authors and the printer. This authority shall be renewed every three months. It may also be revoked.

" 3. The authority shall be provisionally granted and provisionally withdrawn by the prefects from journals and periodicals, or semi-periodical works, published, or about to be published, in the departments.

" 4. Journals and writings published in contravention of article 2, shall be immediately seized. The presses and types used in the printing of them, shall be placed in a public depôt under seal, or rendered unfit for use.

" 5. No writing of less than twenty printed pages shall appear, except with the authority of our minister, Secretary of State for the Interior at Paris, and of the prefects in the departments. Every writing of more than twenty printed pages, which shall not constitute one single work, must also equally be published under authority only. Writings published without authority shall be immediately seized, the presses and types used in printing them shall be placed in a public depôt, and under seal, or rendered unfit for use.

" 6. Memoirs relating to legal process and memoirs of scientific and literary societies must be previously authorized, if they treat in whole or in part of political matters, in which case the measures prescribed by art. 5 shall be applicable.

" 7. Every regulation contrary to the present shall be without effect.

" 8. The execution of the present ordinance shall take place in conformity with article 4 of the ordinance of

November 27, 1816, and of that which is prescribed by the ordinance of the 18th of January, 1817.

" 9. Our secretaries of state are charged with the execution of this ordinance.

" Given at the Castle of St. Cloud, the 25th of July, in the year of grace 1830, and the 6th of our reign.

(Signed) " CHARLES.

(Countersigned)

" Prince de POLIGNAC, President.

" CHANTELAUZE, Keeper of the Seals.

" Baron D'HAUSSEZ, Minister of Marine.

" MONTBEL, Minister of Finance.

" Count GUERNON RANVILLE, Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs.

" Baron CAPELLE, Secretary of State for Public Works."

" CHARLES,

" To all to whom these presents shall come, &c.

" Having considered art. 50 of the constitutional Charter; being informed of the manœuvres which have been practised in various parts of our kingdom, to deceive and mislead the electors during the late operations of the electoral colleges; having heard our council; we have ordained and do ordain as follows:—

" Art. 1. The Chamber of Deputies of departments is dissolved.

" 2. Our Minister Secretary of State of the Interior is charged with the execution of the present ordinance.

" Given at St. Cloud, the 25th day of July, the year of grace, 1830, and the sixth of our reign.

" CHARLES."

(Countersigned) " Count de PEYRONNET, Peer of France, Secretary of State for the Interior."

" CHARLES,

" To all those who shall see these presents, health.

" Having resolved to prevent the return of the manœuvres which have exercised a pernicious influence on the late operations of the electoral colleges, and wishing in consequence, to reform according to the principles of the constitutional charter the rules of election, of which experience has shown the inconvenience, we have recognized the necessity of using the right which belongs to us, to provide, by acts emanating from ourselves, for the safety of the state, and for the suppression of every enterprize injurious to the dignity of our crown. For these reasons, having heard our council, we have ordained and do ordain—

" Art. 1. Conformably with the articles 15, 36, and 30, of the constitutional charter, the Chamber of Deputies shall consist only of Deputies of departments.

" 2. The electoral rate, and the rate of eligibility, shall consist exclusively of the sums for which the elector and the candidate shall be inscribed individually, as holders of real or personal property in the roll of the land-tax, or of personal taxes.

" 3. Each department shall have the number of deputies allotted to it by the 36th article of the constitutional charter.

" 4. The deputies shall be elected, and the Chamber renewed, in the form and for the time fixed by the 37th article of the constitutional charter.

" 5. The electoral colleges shall be divided into colleges of arrondissement, and colleges of departments, except the case of those electoral colleges of departments to which only one deputy is allotted.

" 6. The electoral colleges of arrondissement shall consist of all the electors whose political domicile

is established in the arrondissement. The electoral colleges of departments shall consist of a fourth part of the most highly taxed of the electors of departments.

" 7. The present limits of the electoral colleges of arrondissements are retained.

" 8. Every electoral college of arrondissement shall elect a number of candidates equal to the number of departmental deputies.

" 9. The college of arrondissement shall be divided into as many sections as candidates. Each division shall be in proportion to the number of sections, and to the total number of electors, having regard as much as possible to the convenience of place and neighbourhood.

" 10. The sections of the electoral college of arrondissements may assemble in different places.

" 11. Every section of the electoral college of arrondissements shall choose a candidate, and proceed separately.

" 12. The presidents of the sections of the electoral college of arrondissement shall be nominated by the prefects from among the electors of the arrondissement.

" 13. The college of department shall choose the deputies; half the deputies of departments shall be chosen from the general list of candidates proposed by the colleges of arrondissements; nevertheless, if the number of deputies of the department is uneven, the division shall be made without impeachment of the right reserved by the college of department.

" 14. In cases where, by the effect of omissions, or of void or double nominations, the list of candidates proposed by the colleges of arrondissements shall be incomplete, if the list is reduced below half the number required, the college of the department shall choose another deputy not in the list; if the list is reduced below a

fourth, the college of the department may elect the whole of the deputies of the department.

'15. The prefects, the sub-prefects, and the general officers commanding military divisions and departments, are not to be elected in the departments where they exercise their functions.

"16. The list of electors shall be settled by the prefect in the council of prefecture. It shall be posted up five days before the assembling of the colleges.

"17. Claims regarding the power of voting, which have not been authorized by the prefects, shall be decided by the Chamber of Deputies; at the same time that it shall decide upon the validity of the operations of the colleges.

"18. In the electoral colleges of departments, the two oldest electors, and the two electors who pay the most taxes, shall execute the duty of scrutators. The same disposition shall be observed in the sections of the college of arrondissement, composed, at most, of only fifty electors. In the other sections, the functions of scrutators shall be executed by the oldest and the richest of the electors. The secretary of the college or section shall be nominated by the president and the scrutators.

"19. No person shall be admitted into the college, or section of college, if he is not inscribed in the list of electors who compose it. This list will be delivered to the president, and will remain posted up in the place of the sitting of the college, during the period of its proceedings.

"20. All discussion and deliberation whatever are forbidden in the bosom of the electoral colleges.

"21. The police of the college belongs to the president. No armed force, without his order, can be placed near the hall of its sittings. The mi-

litary commandant shall be bound to obey his requisitions.

" 22. The nominations shall be made in the colleges and sections of colleges, by the absolute majority of the votes given. Nevertheless, if the nominations are not finished after two rounds of scrutiny, the bureau shall determine the list of persons who shall have obtained the greatest number of suffrages at the second round. It shall contain a number of names double that of the nominations which remain to be made. At the third round, no suffrages can be given except to the persons inscribed on that list; and the nominations shall be made by a relative majority.

" 23. The electors shall vote by bulletins; every bulletin shall contain as many names as there are nominations to be made.

" 24. The electors shall write their vote on the bureau, or cause it to be written by one of the scrutators.

" 25. The name, the qualification, and the domicile of each elector who shall deposit his bulletin, shall be inscribed by the secretary on a list destined to establish the number of the voters.

" 26. Every scrutiny shall remain open for six hours, and the result shall be declared during the sitting.

" 27. There shall be drawn up a *procès verbal* for each sitting. This *procès verbal*, or minute, shall be signed by all the members of the bureau.

" 28. Conformably with article 46 of the Constitutional charter, no amendment can be made upon any law in the Chamber, unless it has been proposed and consented to by us, and unless it has been discussed in the bureau.

" 29. All regulations contrary to the present ordinance shall remain without effect.

" 30. Our ministers, secretaries of state, are charged with the execution of the present ordinance.

" Given at St. Cloud, this 25th day of July, in the year of grace 1830, and 6th of our reign.

" CHARLES."

(Countersigned by all the Ministers.)

CHAPTER III.

Effects produced among the Parisians by the announcement of the obnoxious ordinances in the Moniteur—Conduct variously held by the proprietors of the constitutional Journals —Reasons assigned for the first hesitation of the influential classes—Prohibitory measures adopted by the Police—Protest of the Parisian journalists—Suspension of commercial confidence—Confluence of people at the Palais Royal —Eccentricities of the Marquis de Chabannes—Conduct of the gen-d'armerie—Tumultuous assembly in the Champs Elysées, and singular escape of the Prince de Polignac.

FROM the central position and the publicity of the Palais Royal, its courts and its garden become a ready rendezvous for the population of Paris on any emergency of interest or importance. In the upper part of the garden, near the Café of the Rotonde, there are two little pavilions, where the public journals are given out for perusal at a very moderate rate to the numerous loungers who frequent the precincts of the palace for the enjoyment of the numerous attractions of which it is the focus. It was from these little "*Cabinets de Lecture*" that the first impulse was given to the revolutionary movement of which we now witness the effects. As soon

as it was known that the Moniteur was big with such important intelligence, the ordinary course of perusal by successive applicants at the bureaux in the pavilions was at once abandoned as far too slow a process for the impatient crowds who gathered rapidly around as the fatal rumour was spread through the garden. Every copy of the official journal became forthwith a separate centre of excitement, if not of attraction. The individual who had secured it was compelled to mount the chairs with which the garden is supplied, and to read it aloud to the groups within hearing. When this was accomplished, a new audience and a new reader were readily found to supply the place of those who, forgetting the purposes of pleasure or of business which had brought them to the spot, were seen hastening from the palace to communicate what they had heard to their neighbours and their friends.

The first feeling produced by the appearance of these ordinances was a sort of stupefaction and surprise, which was speedily roused into contempt and indignation. It was some hours, however, before a distinct knowledge of the fact became general throughout the city. The circulation of the Moniteur, like that of the London Gazette, to which it is in some degree analogous, is in itself extremely limited, being almost exclusively confined to the public offices of the government, and to a few of the reading

rooms, and other places of general resort; and as it appears at the same hour with the morning papers, the information it communicates is seldom very widely circulated until the following day.

In the offices of the constitutional journals the effect produced was far from being uniform. The spirited proprietors of the National, the Times, and the Globe, resolved on immediate resistance to the arbitrary decree which declared the suspension of their professional freedom. In the course of the forenoon, second editions of these journals were printed and posted throughout the city, and, as they contained the obnoxious edicts themselves, with an appeal to the people, inciting them to resistance, and assuring them that obedience was no longer a duty, the vagueness of the rumours which had begun to circulate at an early hour in the morning was thus made to assume a definite and intelligible form. But since the truth must be told in this, as in all the parts of our narrative, it must not be concealed that the Constitutionnel and the Journal des Debats, La Nouvelle France, and several other journals, professedly liberal, adopted the more prudent course of passive obedience to the usurped authority of the government.

To the English reader it may be necessary to say, that these latter journals, but more particularly the Constitutionnel and the Debats, are, in point of circulation, at the head of the daily press of Paris, while the three that ven-

tured to appear, are comparatively of recent origin; so that the risk they incurred by this open disregard of the royal authority, was one of person rather than of property. This distinction is here taken, from the striking analogy it bears to all the proceedings of this extraordinary revolution. It was, in fact, with the *sans culottes* of the press, as of the populace, that the movement originated. Those who had any thing but life to lose, were cautious in exposing it; and of such it may truly be said, that it was not their "consciences," but their property, that made "cowards" of them all.

If it must be admitted that the richer and more influential classes showed some hesitation at the outset, in throwing themselves into the breach which had been effected by their poorer fellow citizens, so neither must it be concealed, that several brilliant and redeeming exceptions were to be found among the modern monied aristocracy, as well as among the old *noblesse* of the country. It is true that the Periers, the Lafittes, and the Lafayettes, were not to be seen at the first sound of the tocsin; but it was not the fault of these noble-minded individuals that they were absent from Paris at the moment when the blow was struck. As soon as they became aware of the attack which had been made on public liberty, they hastened, as if by mutual agreement, from various parts of the country, to present themselves at the post of

duty and of danger. But—what is believed to be perfectly unique in the history of the world —they found, on their arrival, that the French revolution of 1830 had already been more than half accomplished, by the firmness and resolution of the humbler classes of society, without any incentive but an innate love of freedom, to prompt them to action and to lead them to victory.

The re-appearance of the ordinances, in second editions of several of the morning journals, accompanied by comments, of any thing but a flattering nature, produced a proclamation in the course of the day, from the office of the prefecture of police, authorizing the seizure of all printed papers which should be sold or distributed without the true indication of the name, profession, and residence of the author and the printer; and directing the arrest of the individuals concerned in the distribution. The keepers of reading-rooms and coffee-houses were also prohibited from giving out for perusal such journals as had been printed in contravention of the royal ordinances; and it was declared that they should be prosecuted, as guilty of the misdemeanours committed by the journalists themselves. At the conclusion of M. Mangin's proclamation, a hint was given at the nature of the means to be employed in enforcing it. While the principal commissary of the municipal police was, with his subordinate officers, directed to

superintend its execution, the colonel commandant of the royal gen-d'armerie was at the same time enjoined to concur with the civil functionaries, in so far as the force at his disposal was concerned.

The terms of this proclamation, like those of the ordinances themselves, evinced in the clearest manner the consciousness of the government, that their proceedings were totally unsupported by that moral strength which is founded on public opinion. Measures were immediately taken, in pursuance of the threats which were thus held out, to prevent, by actual violence, the appearance of those journals whose conductors had refused to submit to the interdict imposed on them. The proprietors of one paper, the Journal du Commerce, adopted the middle course, between submission and disobedience, of appealing to M. de Belleyme, the president of the civil tribunal of first instance, and obtained a judgment from him, as against the printer of the paper, declaring that the ordinances were not obligatory on the citizens, because they had not yet been published, as prescribed by statute, in the Bulletin des Lois. The ground thus assumed by M. de Belleyme, was founded on a technical nicety, more consistent with the habits of a lawyer than with the wider views of a statesman, or the feelings of an injured citizen. But whatever may have been its basis, the direction which it gave was practically

favourable to the cause of freedom, although in the particular instance to which it applied it was not attended with the desired effect.

The business of printing in France is, or rather was, like other trades connected with the dissemination of ideas, a strict and close monopoly. Up to the date of the ordinances, a printer's licence was an object of some value, as may be collected from the fact, that in a great capital like Paris, the centre of French, if not also of European literature, the number of these licences was limited to eighty. In the case of the Journal du Commerce, the printer refused to obey the judgment of the court of first instance, and took an appeal to a higher tribunal, preferring to incur the risk of a claim of damages at the suit of the journal, rather than to endanger the safety of his patent by giving offence to those who were still at the head of the government.

In this emergency the journalists, as a body, had the high honour of being the first to combine their efforts in the preparation of a solemn protest against the measures of the government; a translation of which is here subjoined, with the names of the subscribers annexed to it.

PROTEST OF THE PARISIAN JOURNALISTS.

" It has been frequently announced within the last six months that the laws would be violated, that a *coup d'état* would be struck. The good sense of the public

refused to believe in it. The ministry repelled the supposition as a calumny. The Moniteur, however, has at length published these memorable ordinances, in direct violation of the laws. Legal order is thus interrupted, and that of force is begun.

" In the situation in which we find ourselves placed, obedience has ceased to be a duty. The citizens first called to obey, are the writers of the public journals: they ought to give the first example of resistance to the authority which has divested itself of its legal character.

" The matters professed to be regulated by the ordinances this day published, are such as are not, consistently with the charter, within the exclusive province of the royal authority. The 8th article of the charter declares that Frenchmen shall be bound in matters of the press to conform themselves to '*the laws*;' it does not say to mere *ordonnances*. The 35th article of the charter declares that the electoral colleges shall be regulated by *the laws*; it does not say by royal *ordonnances*.

" These articles have hitherto been recognized by the crown itself; the idea had not been formed of arming itself against them either in virtue of a pretended constitutional power, or of a power falsely ascribed to the 14th article of the charter.

" Whenever in fact any circumstances, assumed to be of a serious nature, have appeared to require any modification of the regulations affecting the press or of the electoral system, recourse has always been had to the legislative chambers. When it was required to modify the charter by the establishment of septennial elections, and the simultaneous renovation of the whole chamber, recourse was had, not to the royal authority, as the author of the charter, but collectively to the whole legislature.

"The 8th and 35th articles of the charter have thus been practically recognized by royalty itself, which, in regard to them, has not attempted to arrogate either a constituent authority, or a dictatorial power, which does not exist.

"These principles have been solemnly recognized by the tribunal to whom the right of interpretation is entrusted. The royal court of Paris and several others, have condemned the publishers of the declaration of the Brittany association, as the authors of an outrage against the government. It was considered an outrage to suppose that the government would employ the authority of ordinances where the authority of law was alone admissible.

"The reasons by which they are supported are such as to make a formal refutation unnecessary.

"The text of the charter, the practice which has hitherto been followed by the crown, and the judgments of the tribunals, establish the principle that, as regards the press and the electoral organization, the laws, or in other words, the king, and the two chambers, collectively, are the sole source of power.

"Legality has now, therefore, been violated by the government. We attempt to publish our papers without requiring the authorization imposed on us. We shall endeavour that for this day, at least, they shall find their way to all parts of the kingdom.

"Such is the duty imposed on us as citizens, and we perform it.

"We have not pointed out its duties to the Chamber illegally dissolved. But we may beseech it, in the name of France, to maintain itself on its evident right, and to resist to the utmost, the violation of the laws. This right is as certain as that on which we rely. The 50th article of the charter declares, that the king may dissolve the Chamber of Deputies; but to that effect it must

have been assembled and constituted as a Chamber, and have assumed the form which made it liable to dissolution. But before the meeting and constitution of the Chamber, the elections were all that had been accomplished. It is nowhere said in the charter that the king may annul the elections. The dissolution is therefore illegal, since it is not warranted by the charter.

"The deputies elected and convoked for the 3rd of August are well and duly elected, and convoked. Their duty is the same to-day, that it was yesterday. That duty France beseeches them not to forget. All that they can do, they ought to do, to give effect to their right.

"The government has this day lost the character of legality which commands obedience. We resist it in so far as we are concerned; it is for France to judge how far the resistance should be extended."

[Here follow the names of the subscribers, in the order in which they were attached to this extraordinary document.]

Gaúja, editor of the National.
Thiers,
Mignet,
Carrel,
Chambolle,
Peysse,
Albert Stapfer,
Dubochet,
Rolle,
} contributors to the National.
Leroux, editor of the Globe.
De Guizard, contributor to the Globe.
Sarrans Jeune, editor of the Courrier des Electeurs.
B. Dejean, contributor to the Globe.
Guyet,
Moussette,
} contributors to the Courrier.

outrage which had been committed on them, and in spreading the alarm throughout the city, became, in the afternoon and evening, a place of rendezvous for those who had already begun to reflect on the probable consequences of the measures of the Government; as well as for another class of individuals to be found in every great city, ready to avail themselves of any public commotion, and to turn it to their own advantage.

The *mauvais sujets* of this latter class found the ready means of agitation and excitement, in a shop which had been opened by the mad Marquis de Chabannes, in the splendid Orleans Gallery, which traverses the centre of the building, for the purpose of exhibiting the result of his labours, in the new career he had chosen of an amateur journalist. More royalist than the King, or even than the King's Ministers, this poetical peer conceived that he had discovered a panacea for all the political evils; and professed, in prose and verse, in *brochures* and in journals, to teach the Ministry the means of saving the monarchy. Instead of laughing themselves, or leaving the public to laugh at the follies of the Marquis de Chabannes, the myrmidons of M. Mangin had, on Saturday the 24th of July, made an inroad on the peer's premises, and a seizure of all the trash they contained. Deprived of the means of vengeance through the medium of the press, the

Marquis resolved to wreak his wrath on the Ministry, and on the journalists, who had refused to notice his lucubrations, by exhibiting them in a series of harmless caricatures, which on Monday evening were posted up in the front of his shop, and which some lithographic printer had enabled him to multiply.

As the evening advanced, the cry of "Vive la Charte!" was occasionally heard from among the crowds assembled in the neighbourhood of the Marquis's Boutique: the moment, it appears, was thought to be favourable for commencing the chastisement prepared for the people. A party of gens-d'armes rushed sword in hand into the gallery: "Fermez! fermez!" was heard from every shop; the windows were all closed, but instead of taking flight, as a Parisian mob is accustomed to do on the appearance of the armed police, the assembled crowd deliberately waited, until they were driven out of the gallery at the point of the sword—and then only retired into the garden. The men formed themselves in something like regular order, along the rails of the parterre, and the women and children, advancing in front of the gens-d'armes, as if to provoke them to violence, loaded them with the most opprobrious epithets; calling them the hired agents of tyranny and oppression. Although the minions of authority were little accustomed to be thus openly bearded in the exer-

cise of their disreputable functions, they had not yet suffered themselves to be provoked to the commission of any irreparable act of violence. No blood had yet been shed. Instead of driving the crowd before them, with their usual insolence, they lowered the points of their sabres, and, in terms of unwonted gentleness, entreated the multitude to leave the garden, and disperse.

The Champs Elysées, which, on a summer evening, present so many joyous groups around the bands of itinerant musicians, the jugglers, the marionettes, and other sources of amusement, so liberally provided for them, presented on this evening, and alas! on more evenings than this, a very different spectacle. Deterred from indulging in their wonted scenes of gaiety, by the subject with which every mind and every tongue was occupied, it was suggested by some one that the Prince de Polignac, the chief author of the calamity which had befallen the nation, would be then on his return from the royal residence at St. Cloud, and that he must pass through the Champs Elysées, to proceed to his hotel on the Boulevard des Capucines. It was resolved to stop him on his passage, and to punish him on the spot, for the treason he had committed against the national liberties. While the crowd were yet deliberating, a carriage arrived, with liveries and armorial bearings, which were mis-

taken for those of the culprit minister. It was stopped on the instant; but while those within were endeavouring to prove that they were not the enemies of France, the carriage of the prince drove rapidly past; and, for this time at least, the president of the council owed his personal safety, if not also his life, to the speed of his horses, and the dexterity of his coachman. His highness's carriage had entered the courts of his hotel, before those who pursued it could reach the Boulevard de la Madelaine. The gates were instantly closed: and the crowd endeavoured to indemnify themselves for the disappointment they had sustained, by breaking all the windows exposed to the Boulevard or the neighbouring streets, by an attempt to scale the garden-wall, and by the imprecations which they addressed to him who had just escaped from their fury. It is said, that the poor prince, in the first access of terror, had descended into one of the subterranean passages of his hotel, and had there remained concealed, until the arrival of a strong detachment of troops restored him to a state of comparative safety.

It was in this state of inquietude, that the people and their oppressors awaited the events of the following day.

CHAPTER IV.

Condition of affairs in regard to the new Election of Deputies —Meeting of Members at the house of M. Casimir Perier, with the Protest issued by them—Crowd attracted by the occasion—First scene of bloodshed—Destruction by the Police of the printing-presses belonging to the National and the Times—Anecdote—Legal Proceedings, between the printers and the proprietors of certain Journals—Affair of Lapelouze and Chatelain *versus* Laguionie—Command of the Troops assigned to the Duke of Ragusa—Preparations for resistance on the part of the people.

Of the four hundred and thirty deputies who form the complement of the representative chamber, only thirty-two had arrived in Paris at the date when the liberticidal ordinances of the 25th of July were proclaimed. The general election had just been completed; the returns from the more distant colleges had as yet only been communicated by means of the telegraph; and the great majority of the deputies were still on their estates in distant parts of the country, or on their way to the capital to attend their parliamentary duties at the com-

mencement of the session, which had been fixed by ordinance for the 3rd of August.

Such of the constitutional deputies as were known to be in Paris on the 26th of July, were hastily summoned to meet on the evening of that day in the house of M. Cassimir Perier, for the purpose of taking the measures of Government into consideration. A committee was named to prepare a solemn protest against the suspension of the liberty of the press, the dissolution of a Chamber which had not been regularly constituted, and the attempt to form a new Chamber in a manner not recognized by the charter of the laws.

On the morning of the 27th, the protest thus prepared was submitted to the consideration of an adjourned meeting of the deputies, who were already doubled in number; and, as the document, with its interesting signatures, possesses an historical value, it seems entitled to a place in the present narrative.

"PROTEST OF THE DEPUTIES.

"The undersigned, regularly elected to the office of deputy conformably to the constitutional charter, and to the laws relative to elections, and who are now at Paris,

"Consider themselves as absolutely obliged by their duties and their honour, to protest against the measures which the advisers of the Crown have lately caused to

be proclaimed for the overthrow of the legal system of elections, and the ruin of the liberty of the press.

" The measures contained in the ordinances of the 25th of July are, in the opinion of the undersigned, directly contrary to the constitutional rights of the Chamber of Peers, to the public rights of Frenchmen, to the attributes and to the decrees of the tribunals, and are calculated to throw the state into a confusion, which equally endangers the peace of the present moment and the security of the future.

" In consequence, the undersigned, inviolably faithful to their oath, protest in concert, not only against the said measures, but against all the acts which may result from them.

" And considering, on the one hand, that the Chamber of Deputies, not having been constituted, could not be legally dissolved; on the other, that the attempt to form a new Chamber of Deputies in a novel and arbitrary manner, is directly opposed to the constitutional charter and to the acquired rights of the electors; the undersigned declare that they still consider themselves as the representatives of the people legally elected by the colleges of the arrondissements and departments whose suffrages they have obtained, and as incapable of being replaced except by virtue of elections made according to the principles and forms prescribed by law.

" And if the undersigned do not effectually exercise the rights or perform all the duties which they derive from their legal election, it is because they are hindered by absolute violence.

Labbey de Pompière	Audry de Puyraveau
Sébastiani	André Gollot
Méchin	Gaëtan de la Rochefoucauld
Périer (Casimir)	
Guizot	Mauguin

Bernard
Voisin de Gartempe
Froidefond de Bellisle
Villemain
Didot (Firmin)
Daunou
Persil
Villemot
De la Riboissière
Bondy (Comte de)
Duris-Defresne
Girod de l'Ain
Laisné de la Villevêque
Delessert (Benjamin)
Marchal
Nau de Champlouis
Comte de Lobau
Baron Louis
Millaux
Estourmel (Comte d')
Montguyon (Comte de)
Levaillant
Tronchon
Gérard (le général)
Lafitte (Jacques)
Garcias
Dugas Montbel
Camille Périer
Vassal
Alexandre Delaborde
Jaques Lefebvre
Mathieu Dumas
Eusèbe Salverte
De Poulmer
Hernoux
Chardel
Bavoux
Charles Dupin
Hély d'Hoyssel
Eugène d'Harcourt
Baillot
Général Lafayette
Georges Lafayette
Jouvencel
Bertin de Vaux
Comte de Lameth
Bérard
Duchaffaut
Auguste de Saint-Aignan
Keratry
Ternaux
Jacques Odier
Benjamin Constant."

It soon became known to the inhabitants at large, for what purpose the deputies had thus assembled at M. Perier's hotel. A party of young men having been attracted to the spot, for the purpose of learning the decision which might be taken, a detachment of gens-d'armes was sent to disperse them. On their refusal to obey

the orders of the police, the latter drew their swords, and attacked the unarmed citizens. Thus the first scene of bloodshed took place under the eyes of the assembled deputies, as if to prove how clearly the line was drawn between the pretensions of royalty and the rights of the people; and at the same time, to remind their representatives of the sanguinary nature of the measures contemplated by the Government.

As the constitutional journalists continued to disregard both the proclamation of M. Mangin and the suspension of their professional freedom, which the ordinances had fulminated, strong parties of gen-d'armerie were sent on the morning of Tuesday the 27th, to occupy the streets adjoining the bureaux and printing-offices of the most refractory. Under the protection of this armed force, the commissaries of police made a violent entry into the premises of the National and the Times, and intimated to the proprietors, that in virtue of an order from the prefect, they had come to make a seizure of the presses employed in printing the journals, in consequence of the refusal which had been evinced to submit to the royal ordinances. To this it was answered, that the Government having exceeded the powers conferred by law on the executive, the officers themselves were committing an act of rebellion, in becoming

the instruments for enforcing a mandate inconsistent with the freedom guaranteed by the charter; and it was intimated to them, that the seizure they contemplated would be regarded as a theft and a burglary; but that as the proprietors possessed no adequate force to repel the invasion, they could only protest against the violence to which they were exposed.

This protest was, of course, disregarded. The printing-presses were dismounted, and the levers, and other essential parts of the machinery were broken, or rendered unfit for service. The greatest anxiety was displayed to discover the copies of the papers which were known to have been printed that morning; but in this the police were disappointed, from their ignorance apparently of the very early hour, (not long after midnight,) when the morning papers are put to press. Seven thousand copies of the National had already been issued, and perhaps a still larger edition of the Times; but these numbers, although great for journals of a few months' standing, are not nearly equal to the daily circulation of the Constitutionnel, and several others of their senior contemporaries.

An incident occurred in the course of this proceeding, which deserves to be recorded, to mark the intelligence and the firmness discovered by individuals of the class of artizans in the

French metropolis. The proprietors of the Times having refused to open the doors of the apartment which contained the printing presses of the establishment, an operative blacksmith of the name of Pein was sent for by the commissary of police, to procure an entrance by forcing the locks. The commissary, arrayed in his official scarf, and with the mandate of the prefect in his hand, required the blacksmith to execute the task he had been sent for to perform. The proprietors repeated their protest against the threatened act of violence, and he, taking off his hat while they read to him the article of the code on which they founded their resistance to the proceedings of the police, firmly refused to concur in a measure which appeared to him to be contrary to law. A second, and younger individual was then procured from a different workshop, but as he refused his ministry with equal courage and simplicity, it was at length found necessary to procure the assistance of the personage whose duty it is to rivet the fetters of convicts, on being sent to the galleys. Such was the worthy instrument employed in the perpetration of this first attack on the liberty of the press! such the hands by which the crime was consummated!

During these proceedings, the pressmen and compositors, who saw themselves exposed to the immediate privation of their means of existence, had the rare merit of repressing their feelings

of indignation, in the belief that force and violence would not long remain triumphant, when opposed to right and justice. In spite of the armed force in the neighbourhood, the printing offices where these proceedings were conducted, were soon filled and surrounded by crowds of citizens, who calmly witnessed the operations of the police in all their details; and, without a suggestion that force should be repelled by force, they in general contented themselves with leaving their names, and places of residence, to enable the proprietors to call them as witnesses, when the perpetrators of the violence should be brought before the tribunal to answer for their conduct.

In the mean time, the courts of justice were occupied with the questions which arose between the licensed printers, and the proprietors of other journals, who had no separate printing establishment of their own. The former, while they acknowledged the illegality of the measures adopted, refused to lend their assistance in printing such journals as had not obtained the sanction of the police for their appearance, agreeably to the terms of the recent ordinances; and the latter were unable to imitate the example of resistance which had been set them by their contemporaries, owing to that division of labour which had placed in other hands the apparatus of printing. On the morning of the 27th, the tribunal of commerce,

under the presidency of M. Gauneron, was occupied with the affair of Lapelouze and Chatelain, the proprietors of the Courrier Français, who had cited their printer, Lagüionie, before the court, to compel him to proceed in the performance of his agreement to print the paper in question. The other judges on the bench were MM. Lemoine-Tacherat, Gisqûet, Bonvaûltier, Lefort, and Trúelle. Their names deserve to be recorded as an honour to the purity and independence of the judgment-seat.

M. Merilhou appeared as counsel for the proprietors of the Courrier Français, and stated "that the defendant had entered into an agreement with his clients to print their paper, and till yesterday he had faithfully fulfilled it; but he had then refused to continue his services, in consequence of a pretended ordinance of the 25th of July, and of an order which had been given him by M. Mangin, the prefect of police. But the defendant ought to know that the laws of France cannot thus be destroyed by ordinances. It was true that a handful of factious individuals, in an elevated station of society, had, in their pride, conceived such a project; but, insane as they were, they must soon suffer the consequences of their temerity. It must have been some illegitimate fancy, some inconceivable caprice which had created, he knew not in what mind, those monstrous ordinances which had ap-

peared in the Moniteur, and which had roused the indignation of every one who had the heart of a citizen in his bosom. They had not contented themselves with destroying the liberty of writing, but had even attempted to annul the electoral operations of the kingdom, and to create a new system of election in France. But they would not find a single tribunal which would lend the aid of its authority to so mad, so sacrilegious a proceeding; for the magistracy would execute only such ordinances as were consistent with law, and not such as were in open violation of it. The Royal Court of Paris, by its memorable decree of the 1st of April 1830, in the affair of MM. Bert and Lapelouze, had declared that the mere intention to change the existing electoral system illegally, or by ordinance, and to overturn one of the guarantees which the charter had consecrated, was *a crime*. But that crime is this day consummated by the publication of the ordinances inserted in the Moniteur. Does the defendant rely, then, on *a crime* to relieve him from the execution of his engagement? To entertain even a doubt on such a subject would be an obvious absurdity. The decree of the 1st of April is a beacon by which all France has been warned and enlightened. The tribunal of commerce will add to it the weight of its authority: its justice will recoil before the sanction of crime." The learned

counsel concluded by moving that the defendant be condemned immediately to print the Courrier Français, or to pay five thousand francs of damages to the plaintiffs for each day's delay.

M. Laguionie then appeared at the bar to state his defence in person. He said that he regarded the letter he had received from M. Mangin as a wholesome warning. It enjoined him to desist from printing the journal under pain of seeing his presses seized and destroyed. The interest of the plaintiffs themselves required that he should yield to actual violence; for if he had resisted like some of his brethren, his presses would have been broken, his types scattered, and the very means of publicity destroyed. The position of the proprietors, in braving the danger, was different from his. All that they compromised was the good will of the journal; but he had thirty presses at work, and afforded the means of support to upwards of one hundred families. How then could he be called on to sacrifice, not only the interests of his workmen, but of two absent co-partners? He believed that he had acted for the benefit of all parties; but if, contrary to his expectation, the decision of the tribunal should be against him, he required that the proprietors of the Courrier Français should be held responsible for the consequences which might result from it.

Having heard the statement of the defendant,

the members of the court retired into their council-chamber to deliberate on the judgment. After a very short consultation, they resumed their seats on the bench, and the president having directed a doorkeeper to close the windows of the court-room, that his voice might be better heard amidst the solemn sound of the tocsin, and the discharges of musketry and artillery by which he was interrupted, proceeded with calmness and dignity to pronounce the following judgment:—

"Considering that the defendant, Gaultier-Laguionie, became bound by a verbal agreement to print the journal entitled the Courrier Français; that agreements legally entered into, ought to receive their effect; that it is in vain that the defendant, to relieve himself from his obligations, opposes a notice received from the prefect of police, containing an injunction to execute an ordinance of the 25th of the present month; *that that ordinance, being contrary to the constitutional charter, can neither be obligatory on the sacred and inviolable person of the king, nor on the citizens whose rights it infringes*:—

"Considering, moreover, that by the very terms of the charter, ordinances can only be made in the execution, or for the preservation of the laws, and that the ordinance before cited, would, on the contrary, produce a violation of the provisions of the law of 28th July, 1828:

"For these reasons the tribunal ordains that the agreement between the parties shall be carried into effect; condemns the defendant personally, within twenty-four hours, to print the journal called the Courrier Français; and, in case of failure, reserves to the plaintiffs their right to insist for the damages, to be afterwards decreed for; ordains the provisional execution of this judgment on the instant, notwithstanding any appeal which may be entered, and that by the ministry of Pigace, the officer of the court in attendance; and subjects the defendant to the costs."

While the representatives of the people, and the occupants of the judgment-seat, were thus discharging the high functions confided to them, in a manner so honourable to their integrity and independence, the capital and its environs were every instant assuming a more threatening and alarming aspect. It was already known that the command of the troops of the garrison, consisting of 12,000 men of the royal French and Swiss Guard, the 5th, 50th, and 53rd regiments of the line, the 15th regiment of light horse, and a formidable train of artillery, had been placed under the command of the Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa. On the other hand, the most unequivocal symptoms of a determined resistance on the part of the people were everywhere displaying themselves. In spite of the numerous patrols of gens-d'armerie, and of regular troops,

both horse and foot, incessantly parading the streets, the citizens were to be seen in all directions, hurrying with arms in their hands, to concert the means of opposition to the measures of the government. For this purpose meetings were hastily held in various quarters of the city, particularly on the Place de Grève, the Place de Chatelet, the quays, the bridges, and the boulevards. The students attending the schools of law and medicine, and the artizans of the neighbouring faubourgs, assembled on the Place de l'Odeon and the Place de l'Ecole de Medicine; but, at an early hour in the day, the precaution had been taken of closing the gates of the Palais Royal, so that the great thoroughfares formed by the Rue St. Honoré and the Rue Richelieu, with the adjoining streets, were soon so encumbered as to have become quite impassable by the crowds of workmen, directed towards the interior courts and garden of the palace, as to a common centre of attraction. The calmness, approaching to serenity, with which these unpremeditated meetings were held, places the character of the working classes in the French metropolis above all praise; but, to account for it, it must be remembered, that although the recent ordinances were the immediate and exciting cause of this insurrectionary movement among the people, their minds were predisposed to it by the warnings which for a year before

they had been daily receiving, through the medium of the periodical press. The ministerial journals, particularly the Gazette de France, the Quotidienne, and the Drapeau Blanc, had been defending, by anticipation, the *coups d'etat* predicted and denounced by their liberal contemporaries, and the discussion which thus arose, while it afforded a salutary course of instruction to all classes of the people on the most important branches of political knowledge, and informed them of the nature of their duties, and the extent of their rights, at the same time prepared men's minds for that firmness of purpose, and that promptitude in action, which were most nobly evinced when the predicted outrage was so signally realized.

CHAPTER V.

Positions occupied by the troops of the line—Punishment inflicted on certain police agents—Disinclination of the troops of the line to act against the people, and causes for this feeling—Conciliatory messages on both sides—Assignment to the royal guard of the station in front of the Palais Royal—Offensive operations commenced by them, conjointly with the Lancers—Anecdotes—The guard-house near the Exchange fired by the people—Active arrangements for defence made by the populace during the night—Unpaving and barricading of the streets—The Marseillois Hymn, and its exciting effects.

WHILE the inhabitants were thus engaged in consultation, the gen-d'armerie and the troops of the line proceeded in powerful masses to occupy the Place de Carrousel, the Place de la Bourse, the Place Vendôme, and other open spaces in various quarters of the city. The more obscure agents of the police, employed by M. Mangin to watch the proceedings of the citizens, had by this time taken the alarm, in consequence of the recognition of several of their associates, and the

severe chastisement they received at the hands of the populace.

On the other hand, the troops of the line discovered no anxiety to place themselves in opposition to the assembled citizens. It was already ascertained, that a certain degree of hesitation had been evinced on the part of more than one of the regiments of the garrison. Nor, if we reflect for a moment on the constitution of the regiments of the French line, and on the manner in which their numbers are recruited, can we feel much surprise at the symptoms of hesitation which were thus manifested among them.

The law of conscription, introduced under the military government of Napoleon, was, with certain modifications, maintained in force after the Bourbon restoration. It is true, that the demand which thus arose on the general population to supply the annual contingent of the army, was of small amount during a long period of tranquillity, (interrupted only by the preparations for the Spanish armament under the Duke d'Angoulême, and by the more recent expedition to the coast of Africa, under the ex-minister Bourmont,) when compared with the constant drain of the best blood of the nation required to satisfy the wants of an ambitious military chief. But the principle was still the same; the conscripts were selected by ballot

from the general mass of the population; and if the army did not latterly include in its ranks the representatives of all classes of society, it was because, under a great variety of restrictions, the principle of serving by substitute had been admitted into operation.

Such, however, were the obstacles to the recognition of the *remplaçant*, and such the repugnance to the service among those who had themselves escaped from the chance of the ballot, that the ordinary premium for a substitute, with all the necessary qualifications of age and personal capacity, has for a long time been as high as fifteen hundred francs; and as the principal, after all, continued to be responsible for the good conduct of his substitute, as well as for his continuance in the service, it will not be wondered at if not a few were to be found in the ranks of the army who could even have afforded to advance a sum, which, although merely equal to sixty pounds sterling, is known to be regarded in France as of very considerable amount. In point of fact, it is believed that the proportion of those who thus enter the service voluntarily in the capacity of substitutes, has not amounted on the average to more than fifteen per cent. of the aggregate rank and file of the French army; and when it is known that these well-paid substitutes are uniformly distinguished as the very worst soldiers in their respective regiments, it

will at once be acknowledged that the materials out of which the aggregate force is originally formed, are decidedly superior, as compared with the rest of the population, to the corresponding elements of the British army.

Looking upwards from the ranks to the officers and sub-officers in the regiments of the French line, we shall find that there also a community of feeling is maintained, not only as between the army and the rest of the population, but also between the officers and privates themselves. In the French army there is no vestige to be found of that aristocratical spirit, which with us is perhaps so necessary, from the very constitution of our military force, and which peremptorily forbids a soldier bearing his majesty's commission, to associate with one whom it would be *infra dig.* to call his comrade of the ranks. There is nothing either in the manners of the country, or in the rules of military discipline, to prevent the officer and the private, when not on duty, from mixing in the same society, following the same pursuits, or enjoying the same amusements. This freedom of intercourse among each other, restricted, as of course it must be, by the accidents of birth and fortune, affords additional facilities for extending itself throughout the whole population, and drawing closer the bands by which the soldier and the citizen are previously united.

The barrack system, by which the troops are kept apart from the rest of the community, and the principle adopted under the restored government of reserving the commissions in the army for the families of the old noblesse, had doubtless a considerable tendency to counteract the effect of what has just been pointed out with reference to the constitution of the army, and the habits of the individuals composing it. These counteracting influences were not, however, of sufficient force to destroy the good understanding which happily existed between the people of Paris and the troops of the garrison. Some hours before any blood had been shed, or any actual collision had taken place between the armed force and the citizens, innumerable messages of a peaceful and conciliatory character had been interchanged between the various barracks in which the troops were quartered, and their friends and connexions in the city. The bearers of these messages were generally either women or children; and it cannot be doubted that their effect must have been great, beyond the possibility of calculation, in alleviating the list of casualties which arose out of a struggle of three days' continuance.

The effect of this interchange of civilities was strikingly evinced on the first appearance of one of the regiments of the line, on the open space in the Rue St. Honoré, in front of the Palais Royal. The inhabitants had no idea that any

attack would be made upon them without some previous warning. They expected to see the commissaries of police, and other civil functionaries invested with the attributes of office, and to hear the proclamation read by which meetings in the street were interdicted, before the commission of any irreparable act of violence. The fact that the troops were not attended by any civil officer to sanction the commencement of hostilities, had only the effect of inspiring the assembled populace with fresh confidence. As soon as the regiment was drawn up in line, it was received with cheers and *vivats*. In place of retreating as the soldiers advanced, a number of individuals from the crowd ran up to them, hat in hand, and adjured them by all that was sacred in honour, liberty, and patriotism, to spare their fellow citizens the horrors of a civil war. The soldiers evidently understood what was addressed to them, and seemed ready to fraternize with the people. But the officers, who were not prepared for this mode of opening the campaign, were at the same time unable to answer with fire and sword, the language of peace and friendship, addressed to them by an unarmed multitude. They sent to their superior officer, General Walsh, to represent to him the manner in which the troops had been received by the citizens, and to take his orders as to the measures to be adopted. His orders were, that the troops of

the line should be distributed in patrols, and that the ground should be occupied by the Royal Guard.

When the Guards made their appearance, they were accompanied by a detachment of Lancers, who, throughout the three days of civil war, distinguished themselves, on all occasions, by their unrelenting ferocity. They came upon the ground, their trumpets sounding, and their drums beating the charge. No halt or hesitation was observable in their deportment. They marched straight up to the unarmed crowd: the guard fired a volley, the Lancers made a charge, and, as the inhabitants fell, a shout was raised from the ranks, of "*Vive le Roi! Vive Charles X.!*" affording a sad presage that henceforward this cry was only to be the signal of murder and of civil war. Dispersing on the instant, the crowd did not wait for a second volley, and the soldiers were suffered to pursue their bloody and triumphant course. The Lancers struck indiscriminately wherever and whomsoever they could reach. An old man, who fell mortally wounded in this first encounter, was heard to exclaim, as he expired, "*Vive la liberté! Vive la charte!*"

It was here, too, that a woman about thirty-five years of age was killed by a musket-shot, which she received in her forehead. A journeyman baker, of gigantic stature and herculean

strength, with his arms and his limbs uncovered, rushed out of his shop, and, laying hold of the dead body, raised it over his head, and carried it to the Place des Victoires, shouting vengeance as he went. After extending it on the ground, at the foot of the statue of Louis XIV., he harangued the multitude by whom he was surrounded, with an energy which vibrated to every heart. He then resumed his burden, and carried it towards the guard-house at the entrance of the Bank of France, which is situated in the neighbourhood of the Place des Victoires; and, as soon as he had reached the sentinels and other soldiers assembled at the gate, he threw the corpse at the head of the first he met, exclaiming, "See how your comrades are dealing with our wives! Will you too do the like?" "No," replied one of the soldiers, shaking the baker by the hand; "depend upon the Line; "but when you come out again, bring arms with you." The men whose trade was that of blood, looked pale at the sight of a murdered, unresisting woman; and tears were seen to roll from the eyes of the officer of the guard. When other dead bodies were soon afterwards carried past the station, the officer exclaimed, "Kill me, kill me! for death is preferable to a situation so horrible as this!"

Another corpse was carried from the front of the Palais Royal to the Place de la Bourse. On

seeing it, the indignation of the people there assembled was suddenly roused to ungovernable fury. They threw themselves at the party posted at the Exchange, killed such as offered any resistance, and, allowing the others to escape, concluded by setting the guard-house on fire.

In the course of the afternoon, it was currently reported that M. de Belleyme, the president of the Cour Royale, and M. Ganireron, of the tribunal of first instance, had been arrested and sent to Vincennes, in consequence of the judgments they had ventured to pronounce in opposition to the views of the government, on the subject of the press. Although it afterwards proved that these rumours were unfounded, the temporary credit they obtained was highly favourable to that unity and firmness of purpose which marked the proceedings of the people.

Throughout the day, the shops in all the principal thoroughfares had been closed ; or perhaps, to speak more correctly, they had, in general, never been opened. In the course of the afternoon and evening, the cry became general among the crowds traversing the streets, for arms and leaders. As nightfall approached, a general attack was made on the public lamps of the city, which were speedily demolished, for the purpose of enabling the inhabitants to pursue the

plans which had already been formed for placing themselves in a better posture of defence against the attack of disciplined troops. Visits were then made to the shops of all the gunsmiths and armourers—to the theatres, which on Tuesday evening had not been opened for public representation—and in short, to every quarter of the capital where it was known or supposed that arms were to be found. To these demands it may be said in general that no resistance was made. The possessors of weapons of offence, of whatever kind, surrendered them readily, as soon as an application was made for them, accompanied by a reasonable demonstration of the power to enforce it.

The soldiery soon found that they would not be in safety in patrolling the streets on this, as they had done during the previous night. The arms obtained by the citizens were not long left unemployed; before midnight the outposts and patroles of the government forces were all driven into their principal stations on the Place Vendome, the Place de Carrousel, and the Place Louis XVI. where their bivouacs were established, so that in every other quarter the citizens remained in undisturbed possession of the streets, and at full liberty to conduct those operations which before morning were to effect so extraordinary, so magical a change on the general aspect of the capital.

The partial engagements which had taken place in the course of the afternoon and evening, between the military and the populace, were thus suspended till the return of light. But the hours of darkness were not attended with their ordinary effects of tranquillizing men's minds, or even affording them an intermission from their labours.

The uniformity and deliberation with which, in every quarter of Paris, the inhabitants applied themselves to the construction of those celebrated barricades which were in fact the means of insuring them the victory they so soon, and so signally achieved, form, without exception or comparison, the most remarkable feature in the French revolution of 1830. Although as yet there was certainly no council to advise, and no chief to direct the people in their proceedings, the corner of every street, and the outlet of every thoroughfare, became in the course of this memorable night a formidable barrier, sufficient to daunt the courage of the best troops in the world. At first every waggon, diligence, and omnibus to be found on the street, was laid under contribution, dismounted, and applied to the purpose with which all thoughts were occupied. These, however, were speedily abandoned, either from an idea of their insufficiency, from a consideration for private property, or in consequence of the discovery that the streets themselves af-

forded more suitable and more substantial materials than those which had first presented themselves. As soon as the idea was started, it spread from station to station, and from street to street, with the rapidity of lightning. With so many, and such willing hands, the task of unpaving the crossing of a street, and of building up a barricade was not long in being accomplished. Nor, while thus patriotically occupied, were stimulants wanting to prompt them to exertion. It was not, however, in the brandy cellar or the wine shop that these stimulants were sought, but in the inspiring air, and, if possible, still more inspiring words, of that hymn, the Marseillaise of M. Rouget de Lisle, which, in spite of prohibition and proscription had never ceased to be a national favourite, and now, when it had again become so strikingly applicable to existing circumstances, burst forth in chorus from young and old, to encourage the labourers in their holy and patriotic undertaking. If the intrinsic merit of the verses did not of itself entitle them to a place in these pages, it would still be necessary to quote them for the purpose of proving how much they, and through them the French people, have hitherto been misrepresented in England. One of the first acts of the new sovereign of the French has been to reward the surviving author of this noble production with a suitable annuity from his private fortune; an act of munificence

universally appreciated and applauded. The effect produced by his verses on the minds of a whole nation affords the best of all evidence that the author's reward has not been unmerited.

LA MARSEILLAISE,

HYMNE PATRIOTIQUE,

Par M. Rouget de Lisle.

Allons, enfans de la Patrie,
Le jour de gloire est arrivé;
Contre nous de la tyrannie
L'étendard sanglant est levé.
Entendez-vous dans les campagnes
Mugir ces féroces soldats?
Ils viennent jusque dans vos bras
Egorger vos fils, vos compagnes!
Aux armes, citoyens! formez vos bataillons,
Marchons!... qu'un sang impur abreuve nos sillons.

Que veut cette horde d'esclaves
De traîtres, de rois conjurés?
Pour qui ces ignobles entraves,
Ces fers dès long-temps préparés?
Français! pour nous: ah! quel outrage!
Quels transports il doit exciter!
C'est nous qu'on ose méditer
De rendre à l'antique esclavage!...
Aux armes, citoyens! formez vos bataillons,
Marchons!... qu'un sang impur abreuve nos sillons.

Quoi ! des cohortes étrangères
Feraient la loi dans nos foyers !
Quoi ! ces phalanges mercenaires
Terrasseraient nos fiers guerriers !
Grand Dieu ! par des mains enchaînées
Nos fronts sous le joug se ploiraient !
De vils despotes deviendraient
Les moteurs de nos destinées ! . . .
Aux armes, citoyens ! formez vos bataillons,
Marchons ! . . . qu'un sang impur abreuve nos sillons.

Tremblez tyrans ! et vous perfides,
L'opprobre de tous les partis,
Tremblez ! . . . vos projets parricides
Vont enfin recevoir le prix.
Tout est soldat pour vous combattre.
S'ils tombent, nos jeunes héros,
La terre en produit de nouveaux
Contre vous tout prêts à se battre ! . . .
Aux armes, citoyens ! formez vos bataillons,
Marchons ! . . . qu'un sang impur abreuve nos sillons.

Français, en guerriers magnanimes
Portez, ou retenez vos coups :
Epargnez ces tristes victimes
A regret s'armant contre nous.
Mais le despote sanguinaire,
Mais les complices des Bouillé,
Tous ces tigres qui, sans pitié,
Déchirent le sein de leur mère !
Aux armes, citoyens ! formez vos bataillons,
Marchons ! . . . qu'un sang impur abreuve nos sillons.

Amour sacré de la patrie ;
Conduis, sontiens nos bras vengeurs !
Liberté, Liberté cherie,
Combats avec tes défenseurs.
Sous nos drapeaux que la victoire
Accoure à tes mâles accens ;
Que tes ennemis expirans
Voient ton triomphe et notre gloire.
Aux armes, citoyens ! formez vos bataillons,
Marchons ! . . . qu'un sang impur abreuve nos sillons.

CHAPTER VI.

Formidable appearance of Paris on the morning of the 28th of July—Organization of the National Guard, on behalf of the popular cause—Destruction of various tributes to Royalty—Mean conduct of many retainers of the Court—General extension of the conflict—Proceedings in the Faubourg St. Antoine—Charge made by the Cuirassiers of the Guard, and followed by the expulsion of the troops from the Rue St. Antoine—Desperate contest in the Boulevard du Temple—An illustrative Letter.

HAD there been any one in Paris unacquainted with what was passing around him, during the night of the 27th of July, and had such a person made his appearance next morning in the streets, in any quarter of the city, without an idea of the changes produced on their general aspect since he retired to his chamber on the evening before, he must have found it difficult to persuade himself, that the formidable fortifications which everywhere met his eye, were not the work of enchantment. After the first feeling of surprise had in some degree subsided, his attention would be called to less prominent objects. At the corner of every street, and wherever any

casual projection afforded a better chance of publicity, three lines of a notice might be seen posted up, some in manuscript, and others in letter-press, announcing that the National Guard was at that moment organising itself.

Like the construction of the barricades, these notices, conceived in every possible variety of language, and assuming every imaginable form, appeared to be the result of some secret instinct which had been granted to the people for their mutual preservation. As yet, no chief had been suggested, no leader had shown himself. The unity of purpose observable among the people, was produced by the feeling, now become universal, that the moment had arrived for asserting their rights, and for ridding themselves of the system of tyranny which had so long been threatened, and which had at length been carried into operation. Already, it is true, the wishes, rather than the hopes, of the more reflecting and considerate, had pointed to the Duke of Orleans and his family, as the ultimate dependance of the nation, and as affording the only probability for the establishment of a constitutional government, strong enough to protect itself against internal anarchy, and calculated at the same time, to conciliate and secure the recognition and respect of the other great powers of Europe.

It is known that the city of Paris is divided into twelve arrondissements, each of which is

provided with a mayor, and other functionaries, who are only subordinate to the prefect as the head of the municipal government. The National Guard, when in a state of activity, had consisted of thirteen legions, one of cavalry, and the other twelve of infantry. The mounted legion belonged indiscriminately to all the quarters of the city, but the infantry were divided into arrondissements, a legion being raised in each. The legions were subdivided into battalions, and these again into companies, the individuals comprising which were of course personally known to each other, from the system of local distribution adopted; and the acquaintanceships which had thus been formed, were strengthened, in place of being broken up, by the jealousy evinced by the government, in disbanding a force which was felt to be of such vital importance to the preservation of the national liberties.

It was little more than three years since this unpopular measure had been carried into effect; so that the officers of companies, the commanders of battalions, and finally, the *mairies* of arrondissements, rather than the mayors themselves, (who were in general royalists,) became the ready rallying points for the members of the respective legions of the Parisian guard. But although the reorganization of the whole body was thus greatly facilitated, it was no ordinary act of courage on the part of the isolated individuals of which it

was composed, thus deliberately to array themselves in the proscribed uniform, and appear singly on the streets and boulevards, as a mark for the first patrol they might encounter. The spirit which prompted to such acts of heroism, was too general to admit of distinction. In every district, in every street, there was some one to take the lead in setting an example, which was speedily followed by thousands. The first who showed themselves were loudly cheered, as they proceeded to their place of rendezvous, with shouts of "*Vive la brave garde! Vive la Garde Nationale!*" and the reception they met with afforded a fresh indication, if such had been necessary, of the perfect unanimity which prevailed on the subject of the resistance which was making to the measures of the government.

Another symptom of popular feeling which displayed itself on the morning of the 28th, consisted in the obliteration of the various emblems of royalty exhibited on the sign boards of the tradesmen authorized to assume such distinctions by the officers of the king's household, and by those of the princes and princesses of the royal family. The names of the Duke and Duchess d' Angoulême, the Duchess de Berri, and the Duke de Bordeaux, were uniformly treated with this mark of popular dislike, wherever they were exposed to public observation. At this early period, however, of the revolutionary movement, the position

of the Duke of Orleans had not perhaps been duly considered. The initials prefixed to his royal highness's name, as they suggested his connexion with the reigning family, were by some thought to be sufficient to include him in the ban they were disposed to pronounce against the whole house of Bourbon. By others it was thought sufficient to blot out the obnoxious characters representing the words "Son Altesse Royal," of which there is evidence still extant in all the principal streets of Paris; while, with a third class, the respectable private character of the Duke of Orleans, still more, perhaps, than any idea which at that time existed of his being so soon called to occupy the vacant throne, protected his name from those marks of popular indignation with which every other memorial of royalty had been visited. When a coat of colour was thought to be insufficient to express the resolution of the parties, the sign-board or the armorial bearings condemned to destruction, were taken down and thrown into the kennel; and if it occurred in a street where carriages were still suffered to circulate, the coachmen were directed to pass their wheels over the degraded trophy, as an expression of the public contempt.

These proceedings were in general conducted with the best possible temper, both on the part of the proprietors and of those who witnessed

them. They were adopted as a mere expression of the will of the people to repudiate the reigning monarch and his family. An instance of this singleness of purpose was evinced in the case of a young man who had appropriated a piece of gilded copper, which had formerly served to decorate the bureau of a public notary, and which had been torn down and defaced because it was impressed with the insignia of royalty. The culprit was compelled to restore the broken metal to its owner, and was severely chastised on the spot, for having thus brought disgrace on what was doubtless regarded as the majesty of the people.

The re-appearance on the streets of a body so justly respected as the National Guard, gave fresh confidence to those who had already embarked in the struggle, re-assured the wavering and irresolute, and utterly extinguished the hopes of such as were still secretly favourable to the cause of Charles and his ministers. If the latter sentiments were entertained on the 28th of July, they were no longer expressed either by word or action. Not a single bourgeois or housekeeper, not a man with a round hat on his head, was to be seen in the ranks of Marshal Marmont. Before the appearance of the ordinances, the retainers of the court never ceased to echo the language ascribed to the king and the Duke d'Angoulême, that they would mount

their war-horse, and appear in arms, on the first call of royalty; but as the king himself did not verify his threat, his courtiers thought themselves justified in following his prudent example.

To the eternal disgrace of these *habitués* of the court, a number of personages of no mean name, who but yesterday were the most forward in persuading the adoption of those arbitrary measures by which the revolution has been produced, and in training on the infatuated monarch to his destruction, swearing that they would conquer or die for him—are to-day the first to turn their backs on their former master, and to worship the sun which has just risen on the other side of the horizon. The antechambers of the Palais Royal are now encumbered with men who do not scruple to remind the new king of the French, that they had served his predecessor with fidelity and devotion, and to assure him, with characteristic effrontery, of their readiness to serve the present occupant of the throne with the same devotion and the same fidelity. Others there are, it is true, distinguished for all that is virtuous and honourable, who cannot so readily change their political principles, or forget their attachment to a fallen benefactor. But the Noailles, the Chateaubriands, and the Martignacs, while they shed a redeeming lustre over the errors and the crimes of Charles the Tenth, by the mode of their retirement from public life,

were not the men to counsel or to approve such baneful measures as those which produced their royal master's downfall.

Towards eight o'clock on Wednesday morning, the scene of strife had become general in all those quarters of the town which, during the previous night, had been occupied by the royal forces.

As the various attacks were almost simultaneous, it is not easy to describe them in the chronological order in which they occurred, without some risk of confusion. It is proposed, therefore, to take up the order of locality, beginning with the struggle on the Boulevards; from thence proceeding down the centre of the city, by the left bank of the Seine, the Place de Grève, the Palais Royal, the Place des Victoires, and finally, the Louvre and the Tuileries.

It was said to be in the Faubourg Saint Antoine that the first three-coloured banner was exhibited so early as Tuesday the 27th; it was by the inhabitants of this same faubourg that many of the atrocities were committed which sullied the history of the revolution of 1789. But, be it remembered, that these atrocities were committed, not by men who had experienced the blessings of liberty, or who had been instructed in the rights and the duties which it confers and enjoins; but, as has been so well expressed by the eloquent mover of the resolutions at the

meeting lately held in Edinburgh to congratulate the French on their triumph, they were the work of slaves who had just succeeded in bursting the fetters by which they had so long been bound in the ignominious thraldom of darkness and ignorance.

On the morning of the 28th, the national standard was again displayed in the upper part of the Rue Saint Antoine, supported by the *élite* of the district, in young men and householders, in veterans and in national guards. "But where are the heroes of your formidable Faubourg?" exclaimed an old man who occupied an open window on the neighbouring boulevard, incapacitated by palsy in his limbs from mixing in the melée: "are they the men I have seen pass this morning, three-fourths of whom were not even armed with bludgeons?"—"What you have seen is nothing," replied a person who had just come from the upper part of the suburb; "in the course of the morning, you will see the faubourg Saint Antoine!"

At that moment the report of musquetry, at the distance of two hundred paces, announced that an engagement had commenced under the eyes of the observer. He could perceive decided symptoms of commotion in all the neighbouring lanes which opened into the boulevard. The cry was then heard of "*fermez vos fenetres!*" and at the same instant a strong body of troops

made their appearance, marching in close column the whole breadth of the boulevard, and in double quick time. The column was preceded by a party of tirailleurs, who fired as they advanced, sometimes in the air to clear the way on their approach, and sometimes at the windows, from the fear, no doubt, lest, if open, the inhabitants should fire from them on the troops. The *jalousies*, or outer window-blinds of the old man's chamber had been left open; and as they were fastened to the wall, he was quite unable to rise for the purpose of closing them. A soldier of the royal guard, mistaking perhaps the crutches which stood by him for some instrument of offence, presented his piece at the window, and fired, but missed his object. A regiment of infantry having thus passed, there followed a squadron of lancers, with a detachment of cuirassiers, and several pieces of artillery. They were all of the Royal Guard, horse as well as foot, and amounted, by the observer's estimate, to some two thousand men. They took up their position on the Place de la Bastille, and had scarcely arrived there when the sound of musquetry, first in files, and afterwards in platoons, announced that the progress of the troops had been opposed. In so open a space, and under such circumstances, opposition on the part of the inhabitants was an unjustifiable act of temerity. After considerable loss on both sides, they were

soon obliged to retire before the column, which then advanced as far as the angle, formed by the *carrefour de Reuilly*. There the troops of the guard received a reinforcement of a battalion of infantry, and two additional pieces of cannon, from the garrison at Vincennes.

The upper part of the Rue Saint Antoine was still occupied by the inhabitants, who had now rallied in considerable numbers. The cuirassiers of the guard made a desperate charge upon them, and succeeded in compelling the greater part to retire. The young man entrusted with the popular banner, disdaining to fly, was left alone in the middle of the street. With a self-devotion, which was worthy of a better fate, he deliberately planted his three-coloured ensign in the ground, and remained beside it unmoved while his companions sought the advantage afforded by the steps and pillars of the Protestant church in the neighbourhood, and such other shelter as they could find from the charge of cavalry with which they were threatened. But the cuirassiers of the guard were not to be moved by the heroism of the gallant standard-bearer. He was instantly sabred and cut down at the post of honour he had chosen; and, after depriving him of life, the soldiers took a horrible pleasure in treading his dead body under the feet of their horses.

An obstinate engagement took place in front

of the houses marked Nos. 79 and 80 in the Rue St. Antoine. The workmen of the faubourg had there entrenched themselves as in a citadel, from whence they kept up an incessant fire, accompanied by the fall of every species of projectile, including paving-stones and household furniture, the tiles of the roof, and the other materials of the building. Here the guards were compelled to retire, leaving behind them a considerable number of men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Some of the inhabitants, exasperated by the slaughter of their relatives and friends, were disposed to take vengeance on the prisoners, and to sacrifice them on the spot; but the more generous voice of the majority prevailed, and the wounded were received into the house of M. Bardol, a retired officer of the line, where they met with all the care and attention which their circumstances required.

Near the same spot, a bomb-shell having fallen through the chimney of the house No. 75, the inhabitants succeeded in extinguishing the *fusée* before it had exploded. It was immediately suspended across the street in the manner of the public lamps of the city, at the height of the third floor windows, where it still remains, surmounted by a three-coloured flag, and bearing the inscription—

"CHARLES X. TO HIS PEOPLE!"

On the neighbouring boulevard du Temple, a combined attack of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, produced a dreadful slaughter. The people had not yet adopted the resolution of cutting down the trees on the boulevards, which were still therefore open to the passage of every species of force. As the testimony of an eye-witness is of more value than any account which could be prepared at second-hand, no apology is necessary for introducing the following letter, written, as it obviously is, on the inspiration of the moment, and coming from a retired officer, whose military habits enabled him to be a competent judge of what he thus records.

Paris, 31 *July*.

"Sir,

"Having been an eye-witness of so many deeds of heroism during the days, for ever memorable, of the 27th, 28th, and 29th of July, I would point out one which seems to call for your particular attention.

"The curiosity of an old soldier made me run to the various points of attack, to give the aid of my advice to the courageous bands who were engaged in the defence of our liberties. This was the only part which remained for me to play, having been deprived of an arm, which I lost at Waterloo.

"During the forenoon of the 28th, I found

myself at the square of the Porte St. Martin, where I proceeded to examine the position taken up by our treacherous enemy. 1st. The infantry of the gen-d'armerie were formed in line along the Rue du faubourg St. Martin, in communication with the neighbouring barrack; the cavalry of the same arm were ranged behind them. 2d. The cuirassiers of the guard were to be seen in similar order on the boulevard near the theatre of the Porte St. Martin, from whence it was to be inferred that a charge was to be executed as soon as any handful of men should venture to show themselves.

"I did not leave the square, as I saw a column arrive, not amounting in all to a hundred-and-fifty men, very badly armed; and (as I was informed by the young man who commanded them) not possessed of more than four cartridges a-piece. There was no want of courage, however, on their part, as you shall judge. I thought it my duty, in virtue of my former experience, and of the remarks I had just made on the position of our two enemies, the gens-d'armes and the cuirassiers, to entreat the young chief to call a halt, and to wait for reinforcements, before entering on the boulevard, from the street by which he was advancing.

"After listening to what I had to say, he thanked me for the information I had given

him. I only did what I felt to be a duty, in endeavouring to save them from certain death. When I came up to them, they were on their way to attack the gen-d'armerie, and were in perfect ignorance of the position of the cuirassiers. The young leader yielded to my advice, in so far as to abandon the attack on the gen-d'armerie; but as to the waiting for reinforcements, he would not listen to it. He made no account of the imminent danger to which he and his followers would expose themselves, by appearing with so small a force on the open boulevard. Placing himself at the head of his men, who were all of the working classes, he ordered his drummer to beat the charge, exclaiming, '*La mort ou la liberté!*'

"I could no longer restrain myself from following the intrepid little band. Their leader again came up to me, and said, 'You have earned a quittance from your country; you have already shed your blood in her cause; to-day it is our turn to follow your example. Do not take from us this satisfaction: to spill it in so good a cause, to die here, is to live eternally.' On this appeal, I desisted from my purpose of following him.

"He arrived with his column on the boulevard, drew it out in line in front of the cuirassiers, and ordered a charge with the bayonet. Placing himself at their head, he rushed on the cavalry, who fired without quitting their po-

sition. The volley brought down several of these brave fellows; and, after firing, the cuirassiers made a charge, which, however, was not attended with much success. This feeble column—I use the word feeble, with reference to numbers only—was very slightly shaken. The firmness and intrepidity they displayed, made them soon triumph over numbers; and in their turn, they killed and wounded with the bayonet, and without firing a shot, a great proportion of their opponents: others, seeing themselves exposed to certain death, surrendered to the victors. It was then that the leader of this little army, and a part of his surviving followers, mounted the horses of those who had fallen or surrendered, and thus drove back the rest of the regiment as far as the quay des Célestins.

"The number of killed and wounded was very considerable on both sides; and the loss of the cuirassiers would have been much greater than it was, if, like them, the citizens had been disposed to indulge in acts of cruelty.

"This was all done in the twinkling of an eye. I then approached, and begged to know the name of the young man who commanded. His name and address were given me by one of those who fought under his orders. It is Augustin Thomas, manufacturer of haircloth for furniture, No. 28, Rue des Vinaigriers, fau-

bourg Saint Martin. From the extent of his workshops, he must employ a considerable number of men, who, for the most part, I understand, have followed his example.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" DUBOURG, *ancien Capitaine.*"

CHAPTER VII.

Successful mode of annoyance practised against the Gen-d'armerie—Desperate struggle near the Porte St Denis—Heroism of Captain Thierri—Fine trait of coolness and humanity—Royal Ordinance, declaring the capital in a state of siege—The Duke of Ragusa takes the command of the soldiery; heads a charge in person, and is driven back into the Place des Victoires—Honourable instances of moderation in the people—Order issued by the Prefect of Police—The veteran hero and the Lancers—Want of provisions among the royal troops; their growing disinclination to the service imposed on them—Resignation of Count La Tour du Pin, captain of the Royal Guard.

On that part of the field thus spoken of by Captain Dubourg, the victory of the citizens was secured by means of a diversion which many may think inadequate to the result produced by it. The leading partners in a great carrying establishment, situated in the Rue du Faubourg St. Martin, No. 40, Messrs. Levainville and Fascie, accompanied by their clerks and others in their employment, after actively assisting in a desperate charge which was made near the

Porte Saint Martin on a regiment of cavalry of the guard, returned into their premises, not for the purposes of safety or repose, but to co-operate more effectually in the promotion of the common cause. Provided with an enormous quantity of stones, to serve as an auxiliary in case of need, they showed themselves in arms on the great balcony in front of their establishment, and succeeded throughout the day in holding in check the gen-d'armerie, both horse and foot, belonging to the neighbouring barrack of Saint Martin, who were thus prevented from either firing on the citizens, or from attempting to pass the house, which, by means apparently so simple, had been converted into a respectable fortification.

Another desperate struggle took place near the Porte Saint Denis, where the Royal Guard commenced an attack with even more than their accustomed ferocity. It was repelled with corresponding vigour. One man in particular, in the ordinary working dress of an artizan, had posted himself in the outlet of the Passage de l'Industrie, and continued without intermission to fire on the soldiers until his stock of ammunition was exhausted. The courage and coolness with which he conducted himself in this insulated position, astonished every one who had an opportunity of observing him. It seemed as if the bullets, which were showering around, had respected the personification of so much energy and

perseverance. Several dead bodies were lying close beside him, and within sight a much greater number of persons had been wounded; but in the midst of death and bloodshed this bold sharp-shooter remained untouched.

Here, as elsewhere, victory at length declared itself on the side of freedom, in spite of all the efforts made by the guard to maintain their position. Among those who chiefly contributed to their defeat, M. Thierry, a retired captain of the old army, particularly distinguished himself, fighting without relaxation from one o'clock in the afternoon till eight in the evening. He did not even retire on receiving a musket-ball in his right arm. Efforts such as these were at length crowned with success, and Captain Thierry had the glory and the satisfaction of receiving and returning the last shots which were fired.

In this neighbourhood an instance of courage of a different description, but, under the circumstances, not less valuable to the popular cause, was evinced by a retired justice of peace from the town of Nanci, who, in quietly issuing from a house in the Rue du faubourg du Temple, saw several individuals wounded by the grape-shot fired from some pieces of cannon stationed on the boulevard. Deeply agitated by the sight, and braving the imminent danger to which he was himself exposed, he walked straight up to the officer commanding the battery, and ad-

dressed him in the name of his country, and of humanity, with so much pathos and effect, on the enormity of slaughtering his fellow-citizens, as to persuade the whole party to cease the firing, and to remove the battery.

In the course of Wednesday morning, a royal ordinance was issued from the castle of Saint Cloud, declaring the capital in a state of siege. As no Moniteur appeared after Tuesday, under the authority of the government of Charles X., this document has never been officially published; but it is said to have been conceived in the following terms:—

"Charles, by the grace of God, &c.

"To all who shall see these presents, health.

"Having considered the 53d, 101st, 102d, and 103d articles of the decree of the 24th December 1811;

"Seeing that the tranquillity of the city of Paris has been disturbed by internal sedition, during the 27th day of the present month;

"And having heard our council:

"We have ordained, and do ordain, as follows.

"Article 1st. The city of Paris is put in a state of siege.

"Article 2d. This measure shall be published and executed immediately.

"Article 3d. Our minister, secretary of state for the war department, is charged with the execution of the present ordinance.

"Given in our castle of Saint Cloud, the 28th day of the month of July, in the year of grace 1830, and of our reign the sixth.

(Signed) "CHARLES."

" By the King's authority ;
" The president of the council of ministers, charged *ad interim* with the portfolio of the war department.
" PRINCE DE POLIGNAC."

The inhabitants of Paris had been suffering all the horrors of a siege long before the appearance of the edict by which it was declared. Its preparation was perhaps called for by the Duke of Ragusa, as his warrant for assuming the command of the troops, and entering the city at their head. This he did at ten o'clock on Wednesday morning. The column under his immediate command consisted of six thousand men and eight pieces of cannon. He entered the city by the quays on the left bank of the Seine, ascended that side of the river, took possession of the Pont Neuf, and ordered an attack on the Hotel de Ville, which was at that time occupied by the National Guards.

But in marching along the quays, the troops were still exposed on one side to the attacks of the citizens, who did not hesitate to fire on this strong body of men, from the windows of their houses and from behind the parapets which occur in various parts of the route. It is said, however, that the men, who had just arrived from Sèvres, in the neighbourhood of Saint Cloud, had there received every species of excitement to the performance of their murderous task. They had been passed in review by the

Duke d'Angoulême, who had caused a distribution of money, wine, and brandy, to be made among them. The money was given in the proportion of thirty, forty, and fifty francs a man, to the privates of the Foot Guards, the Swiss, and the Lancers, respectively. Crosses of the Legion of Honour were promised to the officers, and were actually bestowed on them in great profusion, before the departure of the royal family for Rambouillet.

But, to return from this digression to the scene of operations on the Boulevards: at the head of the Rue Montmartre an affair took place in which Marmont commanded in person. During some part of the day, the Place des Victoires had been occupied by troops, part of whom, consisting of a detachment of the line, had been observed to fraternize with the post of National Guards established at the Petits-Peres. About two o'clock the Marshal made his appearance on the Place des Victoires at the head of fresh troops. These he placed in observation at the openings of the Rue de Mail, the Rue des Fosses Montmartre, the Rue Croix des Petits-Champs, and the Rue Neuve des Petits-Champs. A charge was then ordered, which produced a great number of casualties on the side of the troops as well as of the people. The detachment placed in the Rue de Mail was led by Marmont in person. He entered the Rue Montmartre, and traversed

some portion of it without much opposition; but having advanced as far as the Rue Joquelet, the resistance offered by the citizens became so obstinate, and was attended with so much effect, that the Marshal and those under his command found it necessary to fall back on their former position in the Place des Victoires.

Much has been said of the moderation and forbearance evinced by all classes of the people during the period of this memorable struggle. The instances which have become the subject of general conversation are apparently as numerous as the recorded deeds of heroism, but we shall only feel warranted in giving a selection of such as appear to be the best authenticated.

At the Bourse, which became successively a depôt for prisoners, and a hospital for the wounded, two men, apparently of the working class, had been placed as a guard over a number of Swiss, and other household troops, who had been disarmed and taken prisoners. On comparing notes, it transpired to the two men on guard, when in conversation with each other, that neither of them had eaten any thing for twelve hours before. They where overheard by M. Darmaing, a literary gentleman connected with the Gazette des Tribunaux, who offered them a five-franc piece, and desired them to go and get something to eat while he remained to keep their place. Seeing them hesitate, he in-

sisted on their accepting what he offered, saying that in a moment like that, it was right that he who had anything should share it with those who wanted. The two men were thus prevailed on to accept the money; but in a quarter of an hour they returned, and insisted on giving back to M. Darmaing a balance of fifty-five sous, and then quietly resumed their post at the door of the apartment in which the prisoners were confined.

In breaking the public lamps for the purpose of securing an advantage to the inhabitants, and of discouraging the troops in their movements after nightfall, a man was about to break the lantern suspended under the arcade of the hotel which had formerly been occupied by the Marquis de Pastorel before his elevation to the office of Chancellor of France; "No," said one of the party, "let that remain; it belongs to a house where bread is given to the poor all winter;"—and on this appeal the lantern was respected.

The prisons too were visited in the course of the day; but not for the purpose of setting the criminals at liberty. The people required only that those should be given up to them who had been arrested by M. Mangin on the first day of the national movement; a demand which was at once complied with by the several jailors and governors.

In the meantime the ministers continued to hold their sittings in the Tuileries, and M. Man-

gin was still in possession of the prefecture of police, from whence, in the course of the day, the following order was issued :—

" We, councillor of state, prefect of police, &c.

" Since the evening of the day before yesterday, serious disturbances have taken place in Paris, in consequence of seditious assemblages. Plunder, conflagration, and assassination, appear to indicate the presence of a great number of brigands in the capital.

" Inhabitants of Paris, keep yourselves at a distance from such wretches.

" Let no indiscreet curiosity induce you to assemble in crowds.

" Remain in your houses.

" In the evening, place lamps in your windows to lighten the streets.

" Prove, by the wisdom and the prudence of your conduct, that you are strangers to those excesses which would dishonour you if you took part in them.

" Measures of severity have already been taken for their repression. Measures still more severe must be taken hereafter.

" Take confidence, and be assured that the necessary force will always remain in the hands of authority.

(Signed) " MANGIN."

Paris, July 28, 1830.

When the people were busily engaged on Wednesday morning in cutting down those trees which lately shaded and ornamented the Boulevard des Italiens, a party of eighteen or twenty Lancers were stopped by the first barricade, which had been formed near the Chinese Baths,

at the corner of the Rue de la Michodière. It is stated by the person who communicates this incident, that he saw an old man in the midst of the barricade waving an Imperial eagle over his head, and defying the Lancers with the somewhat incongruous cry of "*Vive la charte!*" The latter immediately fired upon the eagle, and on the man who carried it, but happily without effect. The Lancers then retired, and our informant approached the veteran standard-bearer, in whom he was astonished to recognize an old sergeant-major of the 108th regiment of the Imperial line, whom he believed to have been killed at the battle of Waterloo, and with whom he had fought in Germany. The old man stated that he had carried the eagle about his person, sleeping and waking, for the last fifteen years, and that he now hoped to see it rise again. "But did you not see those awkward fellows?" he added: "although so near their mark, they have left me without a scratch." This veteran's name is Fayet; he has long been a book-keeper in the house of the widow Grandpré, Rue Saint Thomas de Louvre, No. 30. With men like him, who had so often confronted death under the Imperial banner, the wish was natural that the symbol of the glorious battles in which they had shared, should once more be raised over the ruins of the house of Bourbon. The cry of "*Vive Napoleon II.!*" "*Vive l' Empereur!*" was accordingly

to be heard occasionally on the streets, during the first days of the struggle; but so faintly, and so seldom, as to leave no permanent impression; since whenever it was heard, it was immediately drowned by the more popular exclamation of "*Vive la charte!*"

It appears, that the unexpected obstinacy with which the troops had been opposed by the inhabitants of Paris, had prevented the soldiers from receiving their regular rations of bread. On Wednesday afternoon a letter to this effect had been written by the commander-in-chief to his Majesty, at Saint Cloud, begging that supplies might be immediately forwarded from thence. The following answer is known to have been received on Wednesday evening:—

"I have had the honour to lay your letter before the King. In consequence of orders received from his Majesty, the chamberlain of the household has directed every possible effort to be made both at Sevrès and Saint Cloud, to prepare the bread you require. I have asked for thirty thousand rations, but I fear it will be difficult to obtain more than half that quantity during the night. I have also ordered twenty-five thousand rations from Versailles. There is reason to apprehend, however, that the bread will not reach you from either quarter before ten o'clock to-morrow morning."

The remainder of this letter is filled with

military details, with reference to the situation of the troops. It affords evidence that the Barrière des Bons Hommes was no longer in possession of the military, and that the route of communication from Saint Cloud to Marmont's head-quarters was in danger of being disturbed. It states also, that four companies of the gardes du corps were to assemble at Saint Cloud, and to proceed towards Paris; and that the King had given orders for the scholars in the college of Saint Cyr to be formed into a battalion, and to come with six pieces of cannon, to do the duty of the palace, and, with the artillery and infantry of the guard, to keep possession of the bridges. The writer of the letter also intimates to Marmont, that two squadrons of guards were to be placed at Sevrès, for the purpose of keeping the communications open on the left bank of the Seine, and that the squadrons of Saint Cloud would communicate by the bridge of Grenelle with those at Sevrès, and would keep open the Bois de Boulogne, the road to Neuilly, and even that to Versailles, on each of which it is stated that crowds were collected.

Another letter, bearing the same date, and addressed to the Duke of Ragusa, informs him, that at half-past twelve, all the posts occupied by the Sapeurs-Pompiers had been relieved by detachments of infantry, and had been sent to receive their further orders at head-quarters.

The author of the letter proposes, that such as had been stationed at the prefecture of police, the barrack of the Rue Culture Sainte Catherine, and at the barrack of the Rue de la Paix, should be made to lay down their arms, in consequence, probably, of the symptons they had discovered of disinclination for the service on which they had been employed.

Such symptoms of disinclination were already discoverable among the troops of all arms. The Royal Guard, both men and officers, began to manifest a generous repentance for the deeds of slaughter of which they had been made the instruments. "Let them kill us," they exclaimed; "it is our duty to die at our post; but let us no longer submit to the unworthy task to which we have too long been condemned." The following letter, particularly when taken in connexion with the subsequent conduct of its noble-minded author, does equal honour to the head and heart of the Count la Tour du Pin. It is addressed to the Prince de Polignac.

"MONSEIGNEUR;

"After a day of massacres and disasters, undertaken contrary to all laws, divine and human, and in which I have only participated from a feeling of respect with which I reproach myself, my conscience forbids me to serve a moment longer.

"My life has afforded proofs of my devotion to the King, sufficiently numerous to permit me, without my intentions being calumniated, to distinguish between what

emanates from him, and the atrocities committed in his name. I have the honour then to beg you, Monseigneur, to lay before his Majesty my resignation as captain of his guard.

"I have the honour to be,

"Monseigneur,

"Your Excellency's most humble and obedient
"servant,

(Signed) "LE CONTE RAOUL DE LA TOUR DU PIN."

"*July 28th*, 1830."

CHAPTER VIII.

Occurrences on the left bank of the Seine—Popular organization, directed by the pupils of the Polytechnic School—Generous promptitude of the students of law and medicine—Places of general rendezvous—Attack on the Swiss barracks in the Rue de Babylone—Letter descriptive of that movement and its successful issue.

On the left bank of the Seine the same spirit of determined resistance was equally manifested. A large proportion of the population in this quarter of the city had additional motives to prompt them to action. It is here that the trades of printing and bookselling are chiefly carried on; and, in addition to the inroad on public freedom to which they were subjected in common with their fellow-citizens, the numerous classes of paper-makers and printers, bookbinders and engravers, and all those connected immediately or remotely with this important branch of commerce, were made painfully sensible that the existence of themselves and their

families was seriously compromised by the attack which had been made on the liberty of the press. They persuaded themselves that they had only to choose between death by starvation, and the glorious sacrifice of their lives in the cause of their country. In the evening of the 27th, a number of companies were already organized, and an application was made to the pupils of the Polytechnic School to assist them in vindicating their independence.

The youth who have been educated at this respectable establishment, in spite of the attempts which have from time to time been made to repress any ebullition of popular sentiments, have always evinced a decided attachment to the cause of freedom, and a corresponding hostility to arbitrary power. This has doubtless been the natural result of the studies to which they apply themselves. In the exact sciences and their application to the purposes of the architect and the engineer, whether civil or military, there is something too positive to admit of mystification. It was known that the sentiments of the pupils were universally national. The school was soon surrounded by the armed population, who, under the conviction of the need they had of leaders who had studied the art of war, came to call upon them to assist in the deliverance of their country. They hesitated for a moment, not from personal fear, but from a far purer

sentiment, which forbade them to be the first to light the torch of civil war. But when they learned that Paris was already in arms, and that the paid soldiers of the government were the only supporters of a guilty ministry, they no longer hesitated. Scarcely had they passed the gates of the establishment, amidst the deafening shouts of "*Vive la charte!*" and "*Vive la liberté!*" when the warlike crowd acknowledged them for chiefs, and received from them their orders with submission and docility.

The students of law and of medicine, although less distinguished as military leaders, were not less zealous, either as combatants in the common cause, or as performers of the important duty of administering relief to the wounded. Distinctions of rank and station were for the moment laid aside, and among the labourers of the faubourgs, the artizans of the city, and the higher classes of the inhabitants, the only spirit evinced was that of emulation of each other in courage and self-devotion.

The earliest places of rendezvous were the open spaces in front of the theatre de l'Odèon, and of the School of Medicine, the Place de Saint Michel, and the quays which surround the Island of la Cité. It was there that the mercenary supporters of tyranny first felt the fire of an indignant and oppressed people.

At Montaign, and at the barracks in the Rue

de Babylone, they offered a resistance which only added greater glory to the success of the conquerors. Driven to desperation, the Swiss troops, expecting a general massacre, had resolved that they would not surrender, but would die at least with arms in their hands. In token of this resolution, they hoisted a black flag beside their white Bourbon banner, a proceeding which was readily understood by those to whom they were opposed.

It was not without reason that this resolution was adopted. Isolated by language from the rest of the community, and enjoying the invidious distinction of superior pay to that of the other troops of the line, their scarlet uniforms pointed them out as an object of aversion to the native soldiers as well as to the citizens.

It was in the Place de l'Odèon that the citizens were rallied for the attack on the Swiss barracks, in the Rue de Babylone. Two printers, of the names of Touchart and Vairon, were here called to the command; and, judging from the exclamations which proceeded from the armed mass, as it proceeded to the attack, there was reason to believe that the apprehensions of these foreigners were not without foundation.

In order to facilitate the proposed operations, the people were obliged to take possession of the house No. 2, Rue des Brodeurs, and to pass

through it and the adjoining garden, from which last the barrack was only separated by a dwarf wall. Alarmed at the preparations for the engagement, the occupants of the house made a precipitate flight, without finding a moment's leisure to carry with them or conceal any part of their property. A service of gilt silver plate was left exposed upon the tables; but, to their surprise and gratification, they found all safe on their return, without their having suffered any other inconvenience than that which was inseparable from their house having been made a thoroughfare for a body of armed men.

Among the instances of disinterested courage which occurred in this attack, one has been mentioned of a young man about twenty-four years of age, who, with a pistol in one hand, and the sabre of a gen-d'arme in the other, had just cut down one of the Swiss defenders of the barrack wall. Two of the comrades of him who had fallen rushed on the young man with fixed bayonets, to avenge the death of their countryman. One of his assailants the young man brought down with his pistol, and the other took to flight; but he who had performed this feat of intrepidity retired among the crowd, as if he had been engaged in some ordinary transaction; and to this hour his name remains unknown.

The attack on the Swiss barrack is so well described in the following letter of M. Jules

Caron, the commander of the second company, that it is here subjoined, with thanks to the writer for all its valuable details.

"Still burning with the ardour which animated the Parisians, those who had been spared in the engagement of the previous evening, and who had only been driven from the field of honour by the approach of night, found themselves, next morning, at the places indicated, without any other call than that which was afforded by a general understanding among the armed citizens. It was to the Place de l'Odèon that I proceeded. We soon afterwards disarmed the post of the veterans at the Chamber of Peers, and that of the gen-d'armes in the Rue de Tournon. The arms which were thus obtained increased the number of our defenders; but we were in want of the ammunition which was necessary to our enterprize against the barrack in the Rue de Babylone. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood, it is true, had wrought all night in casting thousands of musket balls. This was already a great deal; but what was more essential was wanting: the powder could not be supplied by the dust of the street, as the balls had repeatedly been by the pebbles.

"Several thousands of us were assembled in this painful predicament, when a waggon was seen to arrive from the powder-mill of Deux-Moulins, which had been courageously carried

the evening before. This sight inspired us with so much ardour, that there was some difficulty in preserving us from an explosion, which might so readily have been produced through the rush of so many individuals with arms in their hands, to the use of which they were but little accustomed. The eagerness of the multitude was at length, however, happily calmed by the promise of an equal division. I caused a barrel to be carried to the Hotel Corneille, whose numerous inhabitants had, I knew, been occupied in the casting of bullets. They readily applied themselves to the constructing of cartridges, of which a large supply was soon fit for use. Here sentinels were placed, as well for the protection of the magazine as for the preservation of the other stores in the guard-house of the Odeon, and in that of the Rue Voltaire. While these arrangements were in progress, a piece of cannon arrived, which was soon followed by another. The distribution of the ammunition was at length completed, amidst expressions of gaiety and satisfaction, which were constantly increasing until the moment of the commencement of our attack.

"The masses of people who had thus suddenly taken up arms were speedily formed into companies. Composed in part of well-dressed individuals, in part of workmen in their ordinary habiliments, among whom were interspersed a few of those soldiers who had tendered their

submission to the cause of the people, or were fugitives from that to which they belonged—the variety perceptible in their outward appearance still inferred no difference of disposition; our wishes were all the same; we felt that we were called together by one object—the destruction of despotism. To secure that object, it was necessary to fight; every one was ready; from all sides the same word was heard—*Partons!* A former student of the Polytechnic School was unanimously invested with the supreme command. That of the companies into which the mass was divided was, for the most part, entrusted to the scholars of that fine establishment, with the addition of some of the towns-people, who, by their conduct in some of the previous affairs, had proved how much the word '*pekin*' had been misapplied, when given to the popular leaders by some of the military, a short time before.

"Of the latter class I happened to be one, having been called to the command of the 2nd company of this new regiment. The chiefs took an oath to conquer or die. The cry was repeated by such as were willing to submit to our orders. The march was beaten, and the line led by the brave firemen.

" On our route, the people received us with joy, threw themselves into our ranks, and assisted us in removing the obstacles presented by the barricades to the passage of our pieces of artil-

lery, without destroying anything which might be useful to us in case of retreat, should that be necessary. Linen and lint were already prepared for the use of the wounded.

"A halt was made at the Rue de Sevrès, to give time for a parley with the officer in command of the barrack. As our emissaries did not return, we supposed that they had been detained, and sent others to ascertain the fact. Soon afterwards the latter returned with the former, announcing to us, that such was the obstinacy of the Swiss, we must prepare for an immediate engagement. On this intelligence the cry was universal of "Forward!" ("*En avant!*") To close up the different outlets, our men were directed to approach the barrack on different sides. One company entered by the Rue des Brodeurs, while the surrounding streets were occupied by others.

"In the mean time our temporary authority was found insufficient to prevent the people from breaking open the doors of a convent which was said to be a retreat of the Jesuits, and which was believed with some reason to contain a collection of arms. A nunnery met with the same fate, for the purpose of compelling the inmates to throw out to us the mattresses required for our wounded, because that which was offered by others, without being asked, had been by them

refused to us. They had forgotten for a moment their usual humanity.

" Having reached the corner of the Rue des Brodeurs, the Rue de Babylone, and others, the houses were occupied and the walls scaled; a fire of musketry was begun, and kept up for a long time on both sides; but the fire of the Swiss, protected by their mattresses and bedding, proved most destructive, and our brave fellows, who were for the most part uncovered and unprotected, could not return it advantageously from the roofs and sheds in the neighbourhood. At length the idea was started of setting the barrack on fire, and was scarcely conceived before it was put into execution. The straw intended for the wounded was saturated with turpentine, and placed in front of the principal entrance. To this a match was applied, under a shower of bullets, by a lad of eighteen.

" The plan was completely successful. The dread of being burnt alive induced the Swiss to take to flight, which they did in tolerable order, although running at their utmost speed, and accasionally turning to fire upon their pursuers; but such was the order with which they were followed, that many of them fell under the fire of our brave companions in arms. If the advice had been taken which I offered before engaging with the enemy, we should not have missed one

of them. A few hundred men placed in ambush at the corner of the boulevard would have taken them in flank, and by means of these fresh troops the victory would have been complete. But whither am I hurrying? Far be it from me to lament the chance which saved the lives of those, who, however contemptible for the venality of their services, are nevertheless our fellow-men! We are now triumphant! Alas, that our object could not be attained by other means than the effusion of blood!"

CHAPTER IX.

Popular attack on the Island of La Cité—Destruction of the Archiepiscopal Palace—Sanguinary engagements in the Place de Grève—Obstinate contests for the occupation of the Hotel de Ville—Final expulsion of the royalist forces from that position—Various traits of courage—Conduct of the Duke of Ragusa—Behaviour of the troops of the Line, contrasted with that of the Royal Guard—Conciliation of the former to the national cause—Enthusiastic spirit among the members of the Bar.

ANOTHER column proceeded towards the Island of la Cité, a position which the regular forces appeared to be resolved to defend with obstinacy. This column was commanded by M. Petit-Jean, a member of the French bar, who resides in the Rue l'Echiquier, No. 30. In the the course of the forenoon, he had assembled a crowd of citizens as courageous as himself, and taken the command of them in the midst of the *mêlée*, wearing a three-coloured scarf, which he afterwards hoisted as a flag, with his own victorious hands, over the towers of Notre Dame.

His company consisted of about three hundred men, among whom he distributed five hundred cartridges, haranguing them with all that energy of feeling, so well calculated, at such a moment, to inspire his fellow citizens with the resolution to conquer or die. It was in the obstinate engagement which took place on the Place de Grève that this gallant band so nobly distinguished itself.

In the course of the struggle, the residence of M. de Quelen, the Archbishop of Paris, became the object of attack on the part of the citizens. His eminence was accused of abandoning the cause of the people for that of the court; he was reproached with the mandates he had issued to his clergy, and with the harangues he had addressed to the King, so little in conformity with the spirit of the gospel, or with the duties which he owed, as a Christian pastor, to his flock. Heated by such recollections, and excited to frenzy by a rumour, which was doubtless unfounded, that the priests had fired on the people through the railing of the garden attached to the archiepiscopal palace, a number of armed citizens attacked the building, and drove out the troops by whom it was defended. A quantity of arms and ammunition was found in it, which gave some countenance to the rumour that had previously been circulated; and exposed the valuable property in this sumptuous residence

to reckless destruction, rather than to plunder or pillage. The rich furniture of the palace was broken in pieces, and thrown out on the street; but the plate and other articles, possessed of an intrinsic value which could not be annihilated, were either carried for confiscation to the Hotel de Ville, or thrown into the river, where, two days afterwards, a great part of it was fished up, by order of the provisional government. But among those who committed these unpardonable excesses, it is a fact, which deserves to be recorded to their honour, that not a thief was to be found, and that no article of value was known to have disappeared. Without attempting to justify such an invasion of private property, it may be stated, in extenuation of the conduct of an excited multitude, that it would certainly never have taken place, had the Catholic clergy in general confined themselves to the duties of their sacred office, and had they not exposed themselves, with too much truth, to the imputation of prostituting their clerical influence to the purposes of political partizanship.

As the Hotel de Ville was a position of considerable importance, the Place de Grève, and the other avenues which lead to it, became the scene of several bloody engagements. In the course of Wednesday, the 28th, the town-hall had been taken and retaken, perhaps ten or twelve different times by the National Guard and

the citizens on the one hand, and the regular troops on the other; and, as the resistance was as obstinate as the attack was courageous, the struggle was necessarily attended with a dreadful slaughter. When the people were the assailants, they rushed out from a number of points on the Arcade Saint Jean, the streets De la Tixeranderie and De Moûton, the iron bridge, and the adjoining quays. The importance of this central point was felt on all sides, from the great moral influence it would give to the insurgents, through the establishment of a provisional government. Every effort was in consequence employed, for securing its permanent possession; but, by turns, the chances were favourable and unfavourable to the popular cause. It was nightfall when the firing was interrupted, and then only to be begun again at an early hour on Thursday morning. So many efforts of heroism were crowned at length with complete success. Tired out and disheartened by the constant renewal of the masses opposed to them, the royalist forces were finally forced to evacuate this dangerous post; and there also floated the victorious colours of the nation.

In the course of this affair, about three o'clock, when the fire was at the hottest, issuing from the quay de la Grève, and sweeping the opposite quays, from the Pavillon de l'Horloge, on the Island of la Cité, to the further extremity of the

Isle St. Louis, a party of young men, about twenty in number, advanced under the protection of the parapet, and occupied and defended the outlet of the suspension bridge, which communicates with the Place de Grève. From behind this rampart, they succeeded in bringing down a great number of the Swiss, who were here opposed to them.

Annoyed at their repeated losses, the latter thought to unmask the position, and advanced on the bridge to the number of fifteen or twenty. Far from thinking of flight, the gallant little band drew themselves up across the bridge like old soldiers, gave the Swiss a volley which killed or wounded three or four of them, and compelled the others to retire. On this, one of the youthful combatants ran after the retreating party, and coming up to the place where three of the Swiss lay dead, or severely wounded, he seized their firelocks and their cartridge boxes, exclaiming, "Here is a supply, my boys, of powder and shot!"

The contest for the passage of this bridge produced another trait of courage not less worthy of notice and admiration. It had already cost so many lives, that the proposal for a fresh attempt upon it met with some symptoms of hesitation. "Follow me!" said a young man, addressing his companions, while he advanced on the bridge, "and if I fall, remember that

my name is Arcole!" With this the youthful hero marched straight upon the enemy, and fell at their first volley. But the example was given, the blood of a martyr in the cause of liberty was not unfruitful, and the victorious column advanced on the Place de Grève, amidst tremendous shouts of "*Vive la charte!*" and "*Gloire à d'Arcole!*" His dying wish was executed on the instant, the bridge received the name of him to whose self-devotion its conquest was due, and a few minutes afterwards the national flag was flying over the belfry of the town-hall.

The tocsin of Saint Gervais was now made to answer to that which was already heard from the towers of Notre Dame. At this terrible appeal many a stout heart palpitated. Men, women, and children, the whole population of the district, were instantly in motion—some to replace those who had fallen or been disabled in the struggle; and their wives and mothers, their sisters and their sweethearts, to assist in caring for the wounded, or in removing the dead.

In the course of the principal attack on the Hotel de Ville, its neighbourhood became the scene of subordinate skirmishes and partial engagements, sufficient of themselves to fill a volume. Among the citizens who lay in ambush behind the church of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, there was a young man from the faubourgs,

possessed of a good musket, but evidently unaccustomed to the use of it. A veteran of the old army begged the loan of it for an instant, and, sheltering himself behind the porch of the Café Secrétaire, he waited the advance of a column of Swiss who were about to enter the Place du Chatelet. He instantly fired and brought down one of the Swiss; and, although the whole column discharged their pieces in the direction of the porch, the veteran escaped unhurt; then, having reloaded his musket, he fired a second time, when his aim proved as true as at first. His example was promptly followed by the other inhabitants assembled, to the number of fifty, who by the precision of their fire soon did such execution on the Swiss column, as to put them into inextricable confusion, and soon afterwards to force them to a disorderly retreat, leaving the ground they had occupied encumbered with their dead and wounded.

In the Rue de la Monnaie, a party of troops of the line had levelled their pieces, and were about to fire on the people, when one of the soldiers fell down in a fainting fit. He had recognized his brother in the group at which his party had taken aim. Recovering his self-possession before the confusion produced by the accident had allowed his companions the time which was necessary to resume their hostile attitude, he rushed from the ranks and threw him-

self into his brother's arms, never more to return to a service which had so nearly produced a casualty of so heart-rending a nature.

It is said, that about one o'clock on Wednesday, the 28th, some hesitation was discoverable in the bearing and deportment of the Duke of Ragusa. The officers in command of detachments had, in more than one instance, been compelled to act on their own responsibility, because they could not obtain the new orders for which they had applied. Murmurs were every instant becoming louder, and some had even ventured to brand their chief with the name of traitor, comparing his present conduct with the circumstances under which, as governor of Paris, he had fifteen years before surrendered the capital to the Allies. But soon rousing himself from his temporary apathy, he seemed to feel that the decisive moment had arrived, and that it was too late to adopt a middle course between the cause of humanity and patriotism on the one hand, and that of despotism on the other. It was at this period that he showed himself in the Place de Carrousel, and, placing himself at the head of a strong detachment, marched by the Place du Palais Royal, and the Rue Croix des Petits Champs, towards the Place des Victoires, as noticed in a previous chapter.

The national guard of the third arrondissement, and the free battalions of the faubourgs

Montmartre, Poissonnière, and Saint Denis, with the people of the markets in arms, were at this period assembled in the Place des Victoires, having detachments in possession of the upper part of the Palais Royal, where it joins the Rue Vivienne, as well as the Bank of France, the Petits Pères, and all that neighbourhood. Before Marmont's arrival, a regiment of the line had entered into a parley with the patriots, and had promised that they would fight no longer. The soldiers and the citizens had embraced each other, a complete reconciliation had been effected, and the popular party had posted a column at each outlet of the place, when the Duke of Ragusa made his appearance, at the head of his lancers, followed by a detachment of Swiss and several pieces of artillery.

Before this combined force the citizens retired; and Marmont, having taken possession of the Place des Victoires, and assumed the command of the regiment which he found there under arms, posted his united force in front of the Rue de Mail, the Rue des Fossés Montmartre, the Rue du Reposoir, the Rue Croix des Petits Champs, and the Rue Neuve des Petits Champs, and ordered a simultaneous attack to be made on all these points. The greater part of the citizens retreated on the first shock into the Montmartre, and entrenched themselves in the Rue de Cadran, the Rue Mandar, the Rue Ti-

quetonne, the cross streets towards the Halle aux Blés, and the passage de Saumon. There an obstinate struggle took place, and a party of Swiss, who had ventured too far in pursuit, were almost entirely cut off, not so much by the fire of musketry, as by the paving stones and other missiles which were thrown upon them from the houses.

Among the citizens who here distinguished themselves was M. Boulet, the keeper of a furnished hotel in the Rue Saint Sauveur, who brought down several Swiss, and stripping them of their arms, presented these to such of his neighbours as were not previously supplied.

The royalists, tired of this unequal struggle, were gradually losing ground, and had left a piece of cannon exposed on an open space, which could not, however, be approached without danger, on account of the fire of musketry by which it was still protected. A pupil of the Polytechnic School, who had for some time directed the popular movement, ran up to the piece, and holding it in both his arms exclaimed, "It is ours, and I shall die upon it rather than give it up!" His friends from behind called out to him to return, and not expose himself to infallible destruction; but the young hero would listen to no such counsel, and only embraced the piece more closely, while the bullets were whistling around him. Encouraged, or put to shame

by so much intrepidity, the popular party made a fresh effort, and advancing to the spot on which the gun had been abandoned, compelled the enemy to make good their retreat.

In this, as in other parts of the struggle, the conduct of the troops of the Line was favourably contrasted with that of the Lancers, the Swiss, and other regiments of the Garde Royale. On the commencement of the firing along the various lines of street which radiate from the Place des Victoires, a number of unarmed individuals sought shelter in the Rue Baillif, in which there was a guard-house, at that time occupied by a detachment of the 53rd of the Line. These brave fellows received the party who sought shelter, as brethren, exclaimed against the conduct of the household troops in firing on the people, and promised to defend their guests to the last extremity. Among the individuals who were thus protected, were M. Jouault, of the Rue Neuve Saint Eustache, M. Drû, of the house of Esnault Pelterie in the same street, M. Maldan, of the Rue Thibautodé, and M. Vuillette, of the Rue des Lavandières, Sainte Oppertune.

The efforts which had been made by the citizens drove back the Royal Guard and the Swiss into the interior of the town, across the streets called La Verrerie des Lombards, La Ferronnerie, and Saint Honoré, as well as through all those

adjoining, by which they are connected with the quays.

It was in the attacks which took place in the course of this retreat, in the Rue des Prouvaires, that M. Cassonais, a barrister of the royal court of Paris, observing that the soldiers of the line were pacifically disposed, ran up to them amidst the fire which was still maintained, and addressing himself to Captain Marchal, who commanded the party, exhorted, beseeched, and at length persuaded him to put an end to the hostilities in this part of the field. It was not, however, until he had three times crossed the fire of the belligerent parties, that he succeeded in concluding the treaty, and in bringing back to his friends the word of honour of Captain Marchal, and those under his command, that from that moment they would cease to fire on the people.

The arrangement, however, had scarcely been completed, when the colonel of the 15th, who had heard of it, hastened to the spot, to use his influence in breaking the treaty, and instantly gave orders to the men to re-commence the fire. Seeing them all remain immovable, the colonel reproached them with their want of fidelity, and reminded them of the oath of allegiance which they had sworn to the King. "We have sworn also allegiance to the nation," was the reply; "and the nation is here to keep us to our word, while the King conceals himself,

and calls upon us to cut the throats of our brethren."

The bar of Paris, particularly among its younger members, had many other active and courageous representatives in various quarters of the field. Among those whose names have been mentioned, are M. Tardieu, who was wounded in an attack on the Louvre; M. Moulin, who took an active part in the firing on the Place de Grève; and MM. Lefio, Disson, Dellequin, and Andorre, who, shut up in the Hotel de Ville during the whole of Wednesday, the 28th, remained throughout the day exposed to the fire of the Swiss, and of the Garde Royale.

CHAPTER X.

Proceedings in the vicinity of the Palais Royal—Amount and distribution of Marshal Marmont's force—Various attacks on the People—Increase of the National Guard—Difficulties of the Royalists, and consequent restriction of their field of operations—Advantages enjoyed by the popular side, contrasted with the destitution of the Soldiery, as to provisions, treatment of the wounded, &c.—Movements of General St. Chamans—Order of the Day from Marshal Marmont—Particulars respecting the state of the King and Court at St. Cloud.

THE district in which the Palais Royal is situated was at no period of the day in the enjoyment of tranquillity. There the danger was more imminent than elsewhere, from the double cause of its vicinity to the Place du Carrousel—which, since the evening of the 27th, had become the head-quarters of the Duke of Ragusa, his military depôt, and the point from whence reinforcements were sent to all quarters of the city—and likewise from the circumstance of the open spaces in front and within the palace being the ordinary places of popular rendezvous in

times of public excitement. During the night of the 27th, and afterwards, until the final discomfiture and retreat of the royalist party, the Place du Carrousel presented the appearance of a complete military bivouac, encumbered with troops of all arms, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, with their usual train of warlike stores and ammunition.

The following is believed to be an accurate statement of the force which had been placed at Marmont's disposal:—

Gen-d'armerie of Paris	1,400 men
Gen-d'armerie des Chasses	200 —
1st and 3d regiments of the Guard . .	3,400 —
Detachment of the 6th, from St. Denis . .	600 —
8th regiment of the Guard, Swiss . .	1,700 —
2d ditto ditto	1,700 —
5th, 50th, and 53d of the Line, and 15th Light Infantry	6,000 —
1st regiment of Horse Grenadiers, 1st regiment of Cuirassiers, and the regiment of Lancers	1,800 —
A squadron of Carabiniers	200 —
Artillery, 12 pieces, with	200 —
	17,200 —

These troops were distributed over the Place Louis XV., the Place Vendôme, the Place des Victoires, the Place du Palais Royal, the Place du Louvre, the Place de la Bastille, and the Place de l'Hotel de Ville, each point becoming

a separate centre, from which smaller detachments were sent out to occupy the crossings of the principal thoroughfares in its neighbourhood, and sweep the streets with their fire.

At an early hour in the morning, the Place du Carrousel was covered with soldiers under arms. At eight o'clock, the Lancers made a charge in the Rue Saint Honoré, and killed an unarmed man in the Passage Delorme, where a number of people had taken refuge. At nine, it was the turn of the Swiss and the Royal Guard to do execution on the citizens; but, in place of producing the expected intimidation, the excesses committed by the satellites of despotism only animated the inhabitants with a more determined spirit of resistance.

In the second arrondissement, as in the other quarters of the city, the National Guard organized itself with astonishing rapidity, and, proceeding towards the Palais Royal and the Rue Richelieu, at about a quarter to one o'clock, commenced a murderous contest, which suffered no intermission till nine in the evening. The efforts they made to displace the soldiery were not, however, attended with success. The troops succeeded in maintaining their position until after nightfall, and did not evacuate the Place du Palais Royal until the approach of day.

To make amends for this failure, the citizens, on Wednesday evening, had the satisfaction to

see themselves conquerors in every other district of the town. At sunset, the royalists, driven from their posts, were compelled, especially on the right bank of the river, to confine themselves within very narrow limits, extending from the Louvre to the church of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois; from thence continuing their line to the Palais Royal, and as far along the Rue Saint Honoré as the bottom of the Rue Richelieu. They were also in possession of the Marché des Jacobins, from whence they kept their communications open with the Place Vendôme, by means of the Rue Neuve des Petits Champs, retaining the command of the district embraced by the Rue de la Paix, the Boulevard de la Madelaine, and the Rue Royale, as far as the Place Louis XV., the Champs Elysées, and the bridge in front of the Chamber of Deputies.

In so circumscribed a situation, the Duke of Ragusa must have felt that the enterprize he had undertaken was already hopeless. Himself in a state of siege within these narrow limits, and master only of the ground on which he stood, he was obviously in constant danger of being driven from his last stronghold, and compelled to make a precipitate retreat. The armed citizens, on the contrary, were hourly increasing in numbers, and still more rapidly in a reasonable confidence in the justice of the cause they had undertaken to defend. Never was there a more

striking example of the value of moral influence in deciding the fate of a campaign, than in that now exhibited in the ranks of the contending parties. The idea and the feeling so happily expressed by our own immortal bard, were doubtless present to the minds of many a combatant on either side, although the language was unknown to them:

> "Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just,
> And he but naked, though locked up in steel,
> Whose conscience with injustice is corrupted."

Nor was the spirit of patriotism and the love of liberty, which animated the ranks of the citizens, confined to those under arms. Every house was open for the refreshment or repose of those who were struggling in the cause of independence; they were everywhere treated as sons and as brothers, and encouraged in the performance of their task by the good offices of all who were incapacitated, by age or sex or personal infirmity, from engaging more actively in the struggle.

It was very different with the unfortunate soldiery. It appeared as if their chiefs had forgotten that the men would be exposed to hunger and thirst, and to the common wants of humanity. Their improvidence was only equalled by that fatal courage which had led to these unhappy results. Bread, meat, and wine, were alike

wanting. Brandy, indeed, had been thought of, and had at first been supplied in profusion; but although well suited to produce that temporary excitement which was necessary to determine the troops to begin the attack on their countrymen, this maddening liquor had no tendency to satisfy the wants of men exhausted by the excessive heat of the weather, by the cravings of hunger, and by the want of needful repose. Their wounded too were utterly neglected; any assistance they received having been obtained from the inhabitants against whom they had been directing their fire.

Harrassed with fatigue and inanition, exposed alike to moral and to physical evils, and involved on all sides in the inexpressible confusion which pervaded their bivouacs, the regiments of the Guards, as well as of the Line, had become aware of the state of isolation in which they had been left by all classes of the community. No king, no dauphin, no grandee of the realm, came to countenance their efforts in the cause of royalty. The noblesse and the aristocracy stood as far aloof in the hour of trial, as did those bands of charbonniers who had lately been so fêted and carressed at Saint Cloud. It was no wonder, then, that the troops were discouraged. Accused of treason against the laws of the Charter, or at least of fighting in support of traitors, their consciences told them that the accusation

was not unfounded. These feelings of bitterness and distrust were speedily ripened into a resolution, on the part of one entire regiment of the Line, to stand neutral between the contending parties, and desist from all further acts of violence or aggression. The ranks of the other regiments were hourly attenuated by desertion; and those who were still restrained from following the example of their comrades, by long habits of discipline, were held together by a thread which was every instant liable to be broken. It was in vain that their officers endeavoured to console them with the assurance of reinforcements and pecuniary gratifications on the morrow. Disheartened and dispirited by the events of the day, it was already too late to recall those sentiments of loyalty and devotion by which they had so lately been animated; and, piling their arms on the ground, or carelessly dropping them on the stones, which were to serve them for a pillow, they allowed themselves to sink to rest, overwhelmed at once with mental anxiety and bodily fatigue.

The column which in the morning had traversed the boulevard, consisted of a battalion of the first regiment of the Guard, six hundred men of the sixth, two battalions of the fifth of the Line, under the command of General Saint Chamans. It was the object of their commanders, in entering the Rue Saint Antoine where it meets

the boulevard, to have effected a junction with the troops which were disputing with the citizens the possession of the Hotel de Ville; but, on reaching the end of the Rue de Fourcy, they met with such a formidable resistance, as to make it prudent for them to fall back on the Place de la Bastille, from whence they had just advanced.

The Lancers, with some companies of infantry, were then sent to defend the bridge of Austerlitz against the citizens of the quarter Saint Marcel, who were known to be marching upon it. The citizens were suffered to pass the bridge, to move down the quays on the right bank of the river, and to join their townsmen of the quarter Saint Antoine, without being charged or disturbed either by the Lancers or by the infantry of the Guard, whose ammunition was already exhausted, and who had long been completely destitute of provisions or refreshment of any kind. Having in his turn passed the bridge in front of the Garden of Plants, General Saint Chamans resolved to avoid the interior of the city, and to retire by the outer boulevards on the Hotel des Invalides and the Ecole Militaire, which he accordingly reached in the course of the following night.

The idea of dismounting the white flag, which had floated for fifteen years on the towers of Notre Dame, and of sounding the tocsin on the great bell of the cathedral, first occurred, it is said, to a party of students from the schools of

law and of medicine, on their return from an interview with M. Cassimir Perier. "*A bas le drapeau blanc!*" was their shout as they approached the venerable pile; a few minutes sufficed to tear down the banner of despotism; and at the same moment the maddening knell of the tocsin called all Paris to arms.

On the evening of the 28th, an order of the day was issued, in the name of the Duke of Ragusa, to the troops under his command, conceived in the following terms:

"The King has charged Marshal Duke of Ragusa to testify to the troops of the Guard and of the Line his satisfaction at their good conduct during the two last days. His Majesty expected no less from the zeal and the devotion of his brave troops; and, in proof of his satisfaction, he grants them a month and a half's pay. The commanders of corps will prepare their pay lists, and present them to-morrow at the general head-quarters of the Guard, where this gratification will be distributed.

For the major-general on service,
and by his orders,
the Aide-major-general
MARQUIS DE CHOISEUL."

"*Paris, 28th July,* 1830."

This order throws some light on the views entertained by the court as to the state of the popular movement on Wednesday, the 28th. The money thus paid consisted of two-franc

pieces fresh from the mint, the soldiers of the Line receiving twenty-eight francs, and those of the Guard thirty-five francs; but such was the state of the capital on Thursday morning, or such the condition of the treasury, that the promises thus held out were only partially realized.

Although the capital was already suffering all the horrors of a siege, the court at St. Cloud still maintained some appearance of tranquillity. The Duchess de Berri, with all the clear-sighted apprehension of a mother, was the only member of the royal family who discovered any symptoms of uneasiness. Her royal highness had succeeded, through the Count de Menars, in obtaining an exact account of all that had taken place in Paris on the Tuesday evening. He had not concealed from her the extreme exasperation of the people, and the danger which must arise if concessions were not speedily made for the purpose of restoring tranquillity. On receiving this intelligence, the Duchess hastened into the presence of the King, to unburthen her mind of the load with which it was oppressed. As yet, however, his Majesty was not prepared to yield a single point, but was resolved to show himself, in courtly phraseology, a worthy descendant of Louis XIV. and Henry IV. In the course of the interview, a young artist was announced, who had come from Paris in obedience to his Majesty's commands; the King hav-

ing appointed that morning to sit for his portrait. The young man entered in a state of extreme agitation, having had occasion to pass through the disturbed districts of the city, where the contending forces were actively engaged; and having actually been bespattered with the blood and brains of a man whose head had been shattered to pieces close beside him. The Duchess de Berri, observing him still pale and trembling, inquired the cause of his emotion, and drew from him the recital of whatever he had heard or witnessed on that or the previous day; but although his story was told with all the freshness of conviction and all the force of truth, it did not in the least disturb the monarch's equanimity.

"Ce n'est rien" was the only observation which it produced from his Majesty; "tout cela finira ce soir; ce n'est presque rien. Tenez, mon cher, ce que vous avez de mieux à faire, c'est de commencer mon portrait."

The King's features retained their usual self-satisfied expression: his whole deportment exhibited the most unaccountable immobility; and having seated himself in a light and a position to suit the purpose he had in view, he waited with exemplary patience until the artist should commence his task. But the old man's nerves were, it seems, made of sterner stuff than those of the portrait painter, who, after several ineffectual ef-

forts, was obliged to declare his utter inability to proceed.

"Eh bien!" said Charles X. with unruffled composure, "ce sera pour la semaine prochaine!"

As soon as the artist had retired, the Duchess de Berri gave herself up to an agony of grief. The King inquired, with an air of kindness and of unfeigned surprise, what could have occurred to distress her. The Duchess replied by an allusion to the disturbances in Paris, and asked if they were not sufficient to excite the liveliest alarm. "How weak you are," said his Majesty; "what signifies the outcry of a handful of journalists, or the ill humour of a few hundred operative printers? Will they beat the royal guard, think you? and what chance would they have with my faithful Swiss?"

"But, sire," interposed the Duchess, "the National Guard are flying to arms."

"That cannot be," rejoined the King; "they are disbanded, and dare not think of re-assembling. Besides, we have Mangin and Peyronnet; so make yourself easy on that subject; you see that I am so."

Far from being tranquillized by the King's assurances, the Duchess continued to urge on his attention the circumstances by which her own mind had been so deeply impressed; she drew an alarming picture of the state of popular effervescence in the capital; alluded to the want

of firmness displayed by the regiments of the Line, and, at length, throwing herself on her knees, she conjured the King not to compromise the interests of his grandson, the Duke de Bordeaux.

At this the King's temper was ruffled; he treated his daughter-in-law's apprehensions as mere weakness and folly; and, on her persevering in her appeal, he ended by desiring her to cease her importunity, and to leave the presence. On returning to her own apartments, the Duchess abandoned herself to excessive grief, and, crying bitterly before all her people, gave unrestrained utterance to the impulse of terror with which she had been visited.

Soon afterwards her royal highness received a visit from the Dauphin, who came by order of the King, to re-assure and console her, or, as he expressed it, to make her listen to reason. The Duke d' Angoulême was as blind as his father to their present situation, and could see nothing to cause a moment's uneasiness in the momentary insurrection which had broken out in the capital!

At two o'clock it was known at St. Cloud that the Duke of Ragusa had attacked the insurgents. The report was immediately spread that he had obtained a complete victory: so readily do we believe what we wish to be true! This delusion continued until the approach of

night; but then, although the truth was not permitted to reach the ears of the royal family, it was already whispered in the antechambers of the palace. It was known, at least, that the victory was not so complete as previous rumour had described it; hints were even hazarded that it was little short of a defeat; that the Guards had met with a repulse, and that the whole of the royal forces were blocked up in the Louvre and the Tuileries. The veil began to fall from before the eyes of the members of the household and the *habitués* of the court. It was only now that they thought of bestirring themselves, saying that an appeal must be made to all good royalists, and that each must write to his friends in the capital to induce then to rise *en masse* for the protection of the rights of the crown. As to themselves, they could take no part in it; they could not think of leaving the sacred person of the King.

In the meantime, the King continued wilfully ignorant of the imminence of the danger to which he was exposed. On Wednesday evening he played his usual party at whist, and ordered a hunting party for the following day. At intervals, it is true, the general serenity was disturbed by the sound of the artillery which thundered in the capital; but on the King it made no impression, unless we are to believe the too frightful statement which has found its way into so-

ciety, that at each successive report which announced the slaughter of his subjects, his Majesty looked up from his game with a smile of satisfaction, as if to rival his namesake's coolness during the horrors of Saint Bartholomew, or to establish a parallel to the historical fact that "Nero fiddled when Rome was burning."

CHAPTER XI.

Measures connected with the Provisional Government—Proclamation signed in the name of the Deputies of France—Letters on that subject—Unsuccessful Deputation to the Duke of Ragusa—Announcement from the Provisional Government—Detail of the conferences of M. Bayeux, the advocate-general, with the Ministry and the Duke of Ragusa.

In detailing the principal events of the struggle on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 27th and 28th of July, the narrative has not been interrupted by any allusion to the circumstances connected with the nomination of a provisional government. The deputies who had put their names to the protest inserted in a previous chapter, continued to meet and to deliberate on the measures to be adopted in the exigency of the moment. On Tuesday afternoon, it was resolved that a petition or remonstrance should be addressed to the King, protesting against the ordi-

nances, and beseeching his Majesty to maintain in their integrity the fundamental compact, and the laws of the kingdom. M. Guizot, the present minister of the interior, M. Villemain, the journalist, and M. Dupin, senior, the celebrated barrister, were each directed to prepare a separate draft, or *projet*, of the proposed remonstrance. On Wednesday the deputies again met at the house of M. Audry de Puyraveau, and adopted the draft prepared by M. Guizot; but events had succeeded each other with such amazing rapidity, that the resolutions of yesterday were quite unsuited to the circumstances of to-day. It was already felt that something more decisive than mere remonstrance was called for by the existing emergency, although no one was yet prepared to suggest what that alternative should be.

This feeling was not confined to the members of the Chamber of Deputies. Every citizen of Paris, who had found a moment's leisure to reflect on the events which were passing around him, was at once convinced of the urgent necessity which had arisen for some central point of union, around which the inhabitants might rally. Suggested, no doubt, by this conviction, a proclamation, purporting to be signed by "The Deputies of France," was on Thursday morning conspicuously posted over all the principal streets of the capital, announcing that a provisional

government had been established, consisting of General Lafayette, the Duke de Choiseul, and Count Gerard, and that these distinguished individuals had undertaken the important duties assigned to them. This proclamation was conceived in the following terms:—

"BRAVE CITIZENS OF PARIS;

"Your conduct during these days of disaster is above all praise. When Charles X., abandoning his capital, had given you up to gen-d'armes and Swiss, you defended your homes with a courage truly heroic. Let us but persevere, and redouble our ardour. Let us but put forth a few more efforts, and our enemies will be overcome. A general panic has already taken possession of them. We have stopped the courier they had dispatched to Dijon for reinforcements, and to recommend the Duchess d'Angoulême not to return.

"A provisional government is established; three most honourable citizens have undertaken its important functions. These are MM. Lafayette, Choiseul, and Gerard, in whom you will find courage, firmness, and prudence. This day will put an end to all your anxieties, and crown you with glory.

(Signed) "LES DEPUTES DE LA FRANCE."

The history of this document, which, although totally unauthorized even by a single deputy, was undoubtedly attended with the very best effects, is not a little curious, from the light it incidentally throws on the manner in which the late revolutionary movement was effected. The

following letters on the subject supersede the necessity of comment.

"*A Messieurs les habitans de la ville de Paris.*"

"GENTLEMEN;

"A proclamation signed by Generals Layfayette and Gerard, and the Duke de Choiseul, as members of the provisional government, *and as having accepted that office*, was placarded on the 28th of July, and following days, over all the walls of Paris.

"The result was then uncertain; the struggle had begun; an imminent danger existed for the subscribers, in case the royal army had been victorious: their triumph would have been followed by our execution.

"My name had doubtless appeared to be useful. My consent had not even been applied for. I did nothing, I ordered nothing; the risk was mine, and I remained silent: I should have thought it base to have published the truth, since my life only was compromised; and I congratulated myself with the reflection, that the kindness with which my fellow-citizens and the Parisian Guard had honoured me, should appear to be of some utility.

"Now that the victory is no longer uncertain, I feel myself bound to declare that I never formed a part of the provisional government—that the proposition was never even made to me. I accepted in silence all the danger in the hour of combat; I owe a homage to truth in the hour of victory.

(Signed) "LE DUC DE CHOISEUL,"

"Pair de France, ancien Colonel de la 1re légion, et ex-major de la Garde nationale Parisienne."

"*Paris, August 1st*, 1830."

The publication of this address produced the following letter of explanation :—

"MONSIEUR LE DUC;

"Your noble and generous letter, addressed to the Parisians, imposes on me the duty of making you acquainted with the manner in which your name was introduced among those of the members of the provisional government.

On Tuesday the 27th of July, I happened to be at the house of M. Berard, deputy for the department of the Seine and Oise, with several of his colleagues, when we were told that a meeting was to take place at half-past eight at the house of M. Audry de Puyraveau. I went thither at nine o'clock; but very few were there. The ordinances, and the blood which had been spilt, were the subject of conversation, but no measure was adopted. I addressed myself, however, to General Lafayette, and asked if he would accept the supreme command of the National Guard. He answered, that he would not hesitate, if he were required by his fellow-citizens.

"Having returned home, I reflected on what had passed, and resolved on saving the cause of the people, which I saw would be compromised if thus left to itself. They wanted leaders, and it occurred to me to supply them, by forming a provisional government among the men whose names I had heard spoken of as likely to conciliate all parties. I chose those of Generals Lafayette and Gerard, and yourself.

"On the 28th, at six o'clock in the morning, I saw at the mairie of the seventh arrondissement the Messrs. Page, and M. Fessart, a captain of the old National Guard, and mentioned my project to them, of which they approved. In less than forty minutes about a

hundred and twenty members of the National Guard assembled at the residence of the Messrs. Page, in the Hotel de Saint Pagnan. I told them that I had assisted the evening before at a meeting of the Deputies; that they had named a provisional government, and had ordered the re-organization of the National Guard. I then gave the orders for its formation. In this I was perfectly seconded by all present; an adequate force was sent to take possession of the Hotel de Ville; a committee was named to go to General Lafayette to receive his orders; and I set out to present them to him. In passing, I entered the office of the Times Journal, and having found there M. Billard, one of its conductors, I begged him to accompany us. Having arrived, at half past ten, at M. Lafitte's hotel, I sent to General Lafayette, to inquire if he would receive a deputation of the National Guard, who had come to offer to march under his orders, and to proclaim the provisional government. M. Lafayette replied, that he wished to consult the Deputies, who were at that moment assembled with M. Lafitte; and ten minutes afterwards he came himself to receive the committee, saying, that the Deputies approved of his nomination as commander-in-chief of the National Guard, but that a convenient place would be necessary to establish his head-quarters. I proposed to him the Hotel de Ville, which was already occupied by the National Guard, under the command of Captain Fessart, my brother-in-law; and he went thither on the instant with the deputation.

" All the other arrondissements of Paris were simultaneously informed of the formation of the provisional government, and of the order to organize the National Guard. M. Billard returned to the office of the Times; I went to those of the other journals; and the names of Generals Lafayette and Gerard, and of the Duke de Choiseul, were printed and proclaimed throughout the

city. They inspired the Parisians with new courage, and the victory of the people was no longer doubtful. It was then that the Deputies began to name provisional committees, and that the National Guard was organized. In a few hours the Hotel de Ville, the Mont de Piété, the Archives, and all the public establishments, were under its safeguard.

"Such, M. le Duc, is the whole truth regarding the formation of the provisional government. Allow me to thank you in the name of my fellow citizens, for the silence you so generously preserved. How shall I congratulate myself on having so well understood your noble character! If the names I selected have been sufficiently powerful to conquer the evils which threatened us, I doubt not that our success would have been still more astonishing, if your co-operation had been more active.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"CAFFIN D' ORSIGNY."

Although not so prompt in their proceedings as M. d'Orsigny would have had them to be, the constitutional Deputies were not unmindful of the important task which had now devolved on them. On Thursday morning they appointed a deputation, consisting of General Gerard, the Count de Lobau, M. Lafitte, M. Casimir Perrier, and M. Mauguin, to wait upon the Duke of Ragusa, and represent to him the frightful scenes which were every instant occurring in the capital; to call upon him to put an end to them in the name of the assembled Deputies of France, and, in case of his refusal, to declare that he

would be personally responsible for the consequences. The gentlemen of the deputation proceeded from the residence of M. Lafitte, in the Rue d'Artois, across the fire of musketry, which was still continued along the line occupied by the royal forces, to the head-quarters of Marshal Marmont; and having with some difficulty obtained access to him, they proceeded to execute their mission through the medium of M. Lafitte as their speaker. Without attempting to justify or excuse the atrocities committed by the troops, the Marshal seemed to feel that he had been personally put on his defence, and immediately answered the address of M. Lafitte, by observing, "that military honour consisted in obedience."

"And civil honour," replied M. Lafitte, "forbids the massacre of the citizens."

After a moment's reflection, the Duke continued:—"But, gentlemen, what are the conditions you propose?"

"We believe we may answer," M. Lafitte replied, "that good order will be restored on the following conditions:—the recall of the illegal ordinances of the 25th of July, the dismissal of the ministers, and the convocation of the Chambers for the 3d of August."

To this the Duke replied, that, as a citizen, he might not disapprove, nay, might even participate in the opinions of the Deputies, but that

as a soldier he had received his orders, and was bound to obey them. He undertook to submit to the King the proposal which had just been communicated; but added, that if the deputation wished to have a conference on the subject with M. de Polignac, the Prince was then at hand; and he offered to go to ask him if he could receive them. At these words the Duke left the apartment, and did not return for a quarter of an hour. The altered expression of his countenance foretold the unsatisfactory nature of the message with which he was charged. The Prince's answer was, that the conditions proposed by the Deputies rendered any conference useless.

"Then we have civil war," said M. Lafitte; the Duke bowed in silence, and the Deputies retired.

Having returned to the meeting at the residence of M. Lafitte, the deputation reported the unsuccessful result of their mission; and the Deputies, having resumed their deliberations, resolved on the immediate appointment of a committee to watch over the public interests. An extraordinary number of the Moniteur soon afterwards appeared with the following announcement:—

"PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

"The Deputies present at Paris have found it necessary to assemble, to remedy the serious dangers with

which the security of persons and property is threatened. In the absence of all regular organization, a commission has been appointed to watch over the public interests.

" Messrs. Audry de Puyraveau, Count Gerard, Jacques Lafitte, Count de Lobau, Mauguin, Odier, Casimir Perrier, and De Schonen, compose this commission.

" General Lafayette is commander-in-chief of the National Guard.

" The National Guard are masters of Paris at all points."

On the promulgation of the royal ordinance of Wednesday, the 28th of July, declaring the capital in a state of siege, it had been formally communicated to the procureur general, for the purpose, no doubt, of intimating that his duties as a civil functionary had been suspended. In consequence of the absence from Paris of the chief law officer of the crown, (the office of procureur general in France being equal to that of attorney general in England,) the despatch containing the ordinance was transmitted to M. Bayeux, the advocate general, whose station may be regarded as parallel to that of our solicitor general. Immediately on receiving the document, about three o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, M. Bayeux attempted, but unsuccessfully, to obtain an interview with the Prince de Polignac, and the other ministers of the crown. On Thursday morning he renewed his endeavours, and found his way to the Tuileries, across the Rue Saint Honoré, at the moment when the

Swiss had just entered the houses at the corner of the Rue de l'Echelle, and were from thence directing a murderous fire on the citizens.

On reaching the palace, M. Bayeux was informed that the ministers were then in the apartments of M. de Glandève, the governor of the Tuileries. On being introduced to them, he found there Messrs. Chantelauze, Peyronnet, and d'Haussez. The two first were reclining on a couch, M. Peyronnet being without his coat, and all appearing as if they had not been in bed. M. d'Haussez continued walking about the apartment, with an air of the deepest agitation.

M. Chantelauze inquired of M. Bayeux as to the state of the capitol. "Admirable," was the answer; "full of tranquillity, firmness, and courage."

"It must be the Fédérés," observed M. Peyronnet, "who have kept up their old organization."

"It is the whole population," M. Bayeux replied, "who have armed themselves against you. The women carry the paving-stones to the upper floors of the houses, and throw them on the heads of the soldiers; while their husbands are fighting in the streets."

This statement having produced some expression of doubt from the ministers, M. Bayeux added, with greater earnestness than before, that in less than two hours the Tuileries would be

occupied by the citizens; that the contest was so unequal and so hopeless, no resource remained but a cessation of hostilities, and a speedy retreat; that the troops of the Line refused to fire on the people; that many of the soldiers had even given away their cartridges, and it was with the ammunition thus obtained that the citizens were now fighting. On this, M. d'Haussez took M. Bayeux apart to one of the windows, and pointing out to him some battalions of the Garde Royale in the Place du Carrousel, he said, "You are very right; these are indeed our sole defenders, and they have had nothing to eat for four-and-twenty hours."

The ministers, after taking coffee in an adjoining apartment, carried M. Bayeux with them to the head-quarters of the commander-in-chief, which they reached by means of a subterraneous passage which communicates between the governor's residence and the apartments on the other side of the Place du Carrousel, where Marmont's staff was established. M. Bayeux observed, as he passed, that there were prisoners in the cellars of the palace.

On reaching the apartments occupied by the staff, with the three ministers, M. Bayeux found there M. Guernon de Ranville, M. de Montbel, and the Duke of Ragusa. He repeated to them what he had already said, but obtained only a

confirmation of his belief that their situation was utterly desperate.

One of the ministers inquired for what hour the King had convoked them at Saint Cloud: "For eleven o'clock," was the answer. "Then," added the individual who had put the question, "we must send immediately for our carriages to meet us at the Pont-Tournant."

M. Chantelauze placed an order in the hands of M. Bayeux, signed by the Duke of Ragusa, requiring the Royal Court of Paris to assemble in the castle of the Tuileries. The advocate general observed, that it was impossible to obey the order; and that if the minister wished to meet the court, he must go to their place of sitting. "Sir," said M. de Chantelauze, "you are the procureur general; I give you the mandate, and charge you with its execution."

M. Bayeux then asked that an officer might be appointed to go out with him, that he might not be fired upon by the soldiers; observing, that he felt himself in no danger from the people. He was answered, that that was impossible; but that a passport would be given him. The Duke of Ragusa accordingly handed him a written permission to pass the military posts at the Tuileries and the Louvre. M. Bayeux remarked on the uselessness of a mere piece of paper for parrying the musket shots which the soldiers

were firing from all the floors of the houses; but it was the only protection he could obtain.

After attempting unsuccessfully to pass the gate which leads to the Pont Royale, M. Bayeux returned as he came, by the Rue de l'Echelle, convinced that if he escaped the Swiss, the inhabitants of the Rue Traversère, in which he resided, would not fire upon him. He succeeded in reaching his own house in safety; but an unfortunate fruiterer, surprised to see any one pass at such a moment, put his head out of doors, and received a mortal wound.

CHAPTER XII.

Reflections on the preceding events—Renewed efforts of the Parisians—Marmont concentrates his force on the 29th of July, and issues a proclamation without effect—General Gerard assumes the command of the popular forces—Attack on the Louvre, and dislodgment of the Swiss troops from thence—Hesitation manifested among the Royal Guard—Various anecdotes connected with the struggle at the Louvre.

In looking back at the events of this extraordinary week, after an interval sufficient for calm and quiet reflection, it is obvious to every one, that the question which had been raised between the King and his people had been irretrievably decided as soon as the royal forces were compelled to assume a defensive attitude.

But it will easily be believed that the feeling was very different at the moment when every mind was agitated by the scenes of deadly strife which had already occurred, and which, to all present appearance, were to be renewed on the morrow. The strength already opposed to them,

and the reinforcements at the disposal of the Duke of Ragusa, were equally unknown to the great body of the people. Tranquillity and repose were as yet therefore out of the question.

During the night between Wednesday and Thursday, the 28th and 29th, the inhabitants continued to strengthen their barricades, and to sacrifice the stately trees which shaded and adorned the Boulevards, for the purpose of making the town, in case of a reverse, completely impervious to regular forces. Fresh efforts were made to procure arms and ammunition. The deserted barracks, and other military stations in every quarter of the city, were forced and ransacked by the populace; and such was the formidable appearance which the city and its inhabitants presented on Thursday morning at sunrise, that Marmont thought it advisable to concentrate his whole force on the Louvre, the Tuileries, and the Palais Royal.

With these exceptions, every public building in the capital was already surmounted by the tri-coloured flag; the head-quarters of the National Guard had been established at the Hotel de Ville, and preparations had been made for the vigorous commencement of offensive operations. An attempt, in the mean time, was made by Marmont to conceal his conscious weakness, by issuing a proclamation which he had not even the means of printing, but which was distributed

in manuscript by the officers at the outposts. It was conceived in the following terms:

"The Marshal Duke of Ragusa, Governor of Paris, Major-General of the Garde Royale, commanding the city in a state of siege;

"PARISIANS!

"The events of yesterday have caused many tears to flow; too much blood has been already shed. For the sake of humanity, I consent to suspend hostilities, in the hope that all good citizens will return to their own homes and resume their business. This I earnestly conjure them to do.

(Signed,) "Le Maréchal Duc de RAGUSE."

"*Head Quarters, Paris, 29th July*, 1830.

It is needless to say, that the contrivance resorted to so obviously for the mere purpose of gaining time, was totally unsuccessful. General Gerard, an officer of known merit, had, with the sanction of the assembled Deputies, already assumed the command of the popular forces. The appearance of General Lafayette at the Hotel de Ville, and the belief which had been spread by the instrumentality of M. d'Orsigny, that a provisional government had already been established, inspired the citizens with new confidence. Every arrondissement of the city, every district of the faubourgs, produced its mass of armed men, who, with a rapidity and precision which

can only be accounted for by reference to the large proportion of old soldiers to be found throughout the whole French population, formed themselves into formidable columns, and marched in good order to the attack.

General Gerard placed himself at the head of that part of the force which advanced towards the Louvre by the right bank of the Seine; but the Swiss, who were charged with the defence of this compact and substantial building, were at the same time disturbed by other columns, who approached it from the other side of the river by the Pont Neuf, the Pont des Arts, and the Pont Royal. In the gardens, courts, and other open spaces protected by walls and railings, surrounding or adjoining the Louvre, two regiments of the Guard were stationed, with several pieces of artillery, while the windows and roofs of the building were occupied by the Swiss. After a well sustained and murderous fire from these strongholds on the one side, and from every available opening on the other, the national armament at length forced its way by the quays, the Rue des Poulies, and all the intermediate streets and lanes communicating between the Rue de l'Arbresec and the Place de Jéna, and effected a lodgment in the houses of that place and of the court in front of the church of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois. There also were stationed two pieces of artillery which had been taken

the day before from the enemy, and which materially contributed to his final defeat. Under the protection of the fire from this little battery, and of that of the musketry from the windows overlooking the Place de Jéna, a small party of citizens, with a young man of twenty, a pupil of the Polytechnic School, at their head, advanced to the iron gateway, and, addressing themselves to a general officer within, required him to surrender. Instead of answering the call, the officer drew a pistol from his belt and fired it on the leader of this forlorn hope; but having missed his aim, the demand was coolly renewed. Having then no alternative but to open the gate or expose himself to certain destruction, he chose the more prudent course of admitting the conquerors; and, tearing from his breast the decoration which he wore, he presented it to the young chief by whom the distinction had been so nobly earned. In spite of the fire which was still poured on the popular party from between the pillars of the colonnade over head, the armed citizens rushed boldly through the shower of musketry, and entering the open gateway, were in instant possession of all the principal staircases. The Swiss, who had previously lost many of their best officers, were now compelled to surrender at discretion, and in an instant afterwards the national colours floated proudly over a building, which, from its strength and its position, may be called the citadel of Paris.

As soon as this success had been secured, the citizens hastened to turn it to advantage, by directing their arms against the two regiments of the Guard, who had just before been in possession of the strong positions under the windows of the palace, particularly to the west and the south. But the Guards had already taken the alarm, and had retired on the Tuileries, some finding their way through the great gallery of the Louvre, some by the quay to the south of it, and some by the Place du Carrousel. The whole of the royal troops had now entrenched themselves in the Palace of the Tuileries, with the exception of the 50th and 53rd regiments of the Line, who, stationed in the Rue Castiglione and the Place Vendôme at an early hour in the morning, had been ordered from thence to charge the inhabitants assembled in the Rue Saint Honoré, and afterwards to retire on the Place du Carrousel. It was known that these regiments had already shown some hesitation in firing on the people; and when it had transpired that this new order had reached them, a party of the inhabitants, with a member of the Parisian bar at their head, walked up to a group of officers engaged in consultation, and exhorted them to remember that they had been citizens before being soldiers, and that in fighting against the people they were destroying their own liberties. The answer given to this address by Captain Vernot,

one of the officers of the group, evinces what had been the import of their previous consultation: "It is thirty years," he said, "since I began to fight the foreign enemies of France; but never shall I draw my sword against my countrymen. We are soldiers, gentlemen, and not executioners."

In the attack on the Louvre, a man who had been wounded, and had his horse shot under him not far from the Pont des Arts, had lain for some time in the street in great agony, having made many unsuccessful attempts to disentangle himself from the body of his fallen steed. In this awkward predicament he was relieved by the boldness and address of three lads of fourteen or fifteen years of age. They first approached him by scrambling on all fours, under the protection of the dwarf wall which supports the outer railing of the palace. When in this situation, they hesitated for a moment as to which should take the lead in venturing into the middle of the street, whereupon one of them, taking his nearest companion's hat, threw it towards the wounded man. All three, as if to recover the hat, ran after it in a body, and succeeded in extricating the unfortunate horseman from his painful and perilous position.

In contradiction to those who assert that the Jews are destitute of patriotism, there are among the numerous traits of heroism connected with

this memorable struggle, several well authenticated instances of Israelites by faith, as well as by descent, exposing their lives, and fighting as bravely as any of their countrymen, in defence of the national liberties. Among this number Levi Abraham has been mentioned, a Jew in humble circumstances, residing in the Rue des Vieilles-Audriettes Saint Martin, No. 9. He left his house without any weapon, but supplied himself by disarming a wounded lancer, and had the honour of being the fifth man who entered the Louvre, where he had the good fortune to secure a fragment of the Swiss flag. Before returning home, this brave fellow went to the mayoralty of his arrondissement, the seventh, to deposit his lance. There he was offered assistance, which at first he refused, saying that he did not fight for money. On being urged to accept ten francs to supply his immediate wants, he at length consented to receive them, on condition of his being allowed to apply the amount out of his first earnings to the subscription for the orphans and the wounded.

While the Louvre was exposed to the attack on the side of the colonnade, which was the first to be successful, other bodies of citizens were approaching it on the side of the Rue Saint Honoré, by the Palais Royal, and the Rue du Coq. One of these bodies was marching to the attack, when the last of the royal forces were finally retiring from the Palais Royal, to

effect a junction with the troops in the Place du Carrousel, and strengthen the defences of the Louvre and the Tuileries. In the Place du Palais Royal, a piece of cannon belonging to the artillery of the Royal Guard became an object of contention between the two parties. The popular column was led by a cabriolet driver of the name of Caillon, who, with a remnant of six or seven of his party, was left in possession of the disputed gun, the contest for it having cost the lives of no less than thirty-five of the inhabitants. After an obstinate defence, which had produced so much slaughter, the Guards were induced to retire by the opportune appearance of another strong body of the citizens, who had been called to the spot by the report of musketry, which told them that their presence might be as useful there as at the Louvre, whither they were proceeding.

In the Rue de Chartres also, which communicates in a direction almost diagonal between the Place du Palais Royal, and the Place du Carrousel, a continuation of this obstinate and bloody engagement took place between the advancing column of citizens, and the troops retiring from the Palais Royal. At the moment when the street was strewed with dead and wounded, M. Thourel, an advocate, residing at No. 8, in that part of the street which faces the chateau of the Tuileries, in concert with his porter, whose name is Monet, had the courage to throw open the

porte cochère, or front entrance of his house, and to convert the court and stable into a temporary hospital. Among the combatants there happened to be three students of medicine, who laid down their arms while they dressed the wounds of such as were brought to them. Upwards of fifty individuals were thus lifted from the street amidst a shower of musketry, and received such attentions as the limited means of the parties could bestow; the neighbours throwing to the young practitioners from their windows the necessary supplies of linen and lint. In this and in many similar cases, no distinction of party was observed towards the individuals who received these attentions. Fifteen or sixteen privates, and a captain of the 6th regiment of the Guard, were among the number thus relieved in the house of M. Thourel; their wounds being dressed, and their cases treated with as much care as the others.

An instance of disinterestedness in the humbler classes of society, is described in the following terms by Dr. Fabré Palaprat:

"I was proceeding," he says, "towards the bottom of the Rue Saint Honoré, where a man about fifty years of age, carrying in one hand a musket, and in the other a bloody sword, fell down close beside me. He had an old shoe on one foot, and on one only; he had no coat, and the rest of his dress was in tatters, and much stained with blood. His linen was of the

very coarsest stuff; and his face, blackened with gunpowder, and I know not what besides, presented an appearance, and an *ensemble* so hideous, that I shall not attempt to describe it.

" At first I supposed that he was intoxicated, but was soon convinced that he had fallen from fatigue and inanition. I was leaning over him with a wish to relieve him, when he asked me for bread. He had eaten nothing all day. A musket-ball had passed through the fleshy part of his left leg; but, in spite of his wound—in spite of heat and fatigue—in spite of hunger and thirst, he had fought incessantly all the morning.

" A good lady was kind enough to give me her handkerchief, and to bring me some water. I dressed his wound, and, thinking that I had still a duty to perform, I begged him to accept a five franc piece, to procure some food.

" At these words the man got up in an excess of indignation, and seizing his sword, exclaimed, 'Money! How dare you offer money to me, a Frenchman, a soldier fighting for his country?' He raised his arm, as if to cut me down, but I threw myself upon him, embraced him, and wept with admiration. Indeed, I know not what I did; but he continued to exclaim, '*De l'argent! a moi! a moi!*' Having at length succeeded in making him understand me, he seemed to recover his self-possession, and shook me cordially by the hand.

"I begged him to come and dine with me; but he would only accept the bread which he needed, and a little water, both of which were supplied by the lady to whom we were already indebted for the handkerchief. I urged him at least to take some wine; but that he refused also, saying that it cost money. On this, he left us, without even giving us his name. Is not such disinterestedness worthy of all our admiration? I shall never forgive myself, that I did not follow this patriot soldier; but I was so bewildered by the occurrence, that I knew not what I was doing."

The splendid picture gallery and museum of the Louvre must have been exposed to very imminent danger in the course of this day's proceedings. The troops, who retreated in that direction, fired on the people from the windows, as they passed; and soon afterwards, when their places were occupied by the armed inhabitants, it would not have been wonderful if, in the indignation of the moment, they had committed excesses to be afterwards deplored. A great proportion of the conquerors must of course have consisted of men who had little idea of the value of those treasures which they now perhaps visited for the first time in their lives; and the discrimination they evinced in the acts of violence they were tempted to commit, is therefore so much the more remarkable. The great pic-

ture, representing the coronation of Charles X., when in the act of taking the oath to the charter, was literally riddled with musket-balls; more than one unpopular monarch was executed in effigy, by cutting across the canvas of his portrait, where it represented the throat, or by twisting a rope round the neck of his statue. But it is creditable to the popular feeling, that the portrait of Louis XVIII. was spared, by acclamation, expressly on the ground that he was the author of the charter. As soon as the first rush was past, a number of young artists, with M. Prosper Lafaist at their head, placed themselves as sentinels on the museum, and remained at their post, in the midst of considerable danger, until after the evacuation of the Tuileries, and the restoration of the public peace. One of these young men was killed at a window of the great gallery, which he had imprudently approached, to witness the conclusive struggle in the Place du Carrousel.

CHAPTER XIII.

Increased defection of the regular troops—Success of the final popular attack on the Tuileries conducted by General Gerard—Causes that facilitated this result—Dislodgment of two regiments of the Royalists from the garden of the Tuileries—Generosity shown towards the Royal Guard—Release of the persons confined in the cellars of the Tuileries—Detail of their previous sufferings—Cessation of hostilities—General appearance of things at this period—Sentiments and conduct of the people.

BEFORE the fall of the Louvre, the regular troops had ceased to act offensively against the people. Two regiments had agreed, both men and officers, to suspend hostilities, and the third, from their manner of obeying the orders they received to fire, were obviously but ill disposed to the task assigned to them. Pressed on all sides by the populace, with cries of "*Vive la France! Vive la liberté!*" accompanied by appeals to their feelings as fellow-citizens: "*Vous, soldats Français, tirer contre des Français!*" the 5th, following the example of the 50th and

53d, began to fraternize with the people; while the officers took the more decided step of waiting on M. Lafitte, and taking the oath of fidelity to the provisional government. The whole regiment then proceeded, amidst the acclamations of the people, their drums beating, their bayonets unfixed, and the muzzles of their muskets adorned with foliage, to the Hotel de Ville, where they placed themselves under the command of General Lafayette, and offered to share all the future dangers of the brave inhabitants of Paris.

While this scene was taking place at the Hotel de Ville, General Gerard was leading on the citizens to the final attack on the Tuileries. The popular forces advanced simultaneously in separate columns, one by the Rue Rivoli and the Place du Carrousel, another through the interior of the picture gallery, from which there is a communication with the Pavillon de Flore, in the south-west corner of the palace; and a third, advancing by the left bank of the river, rushed boldly forward along the Pont Royal, in face of a shower of musketry from the southern windows of the pavilion.

This last column, the most formidable of the three, was drawn into an ambuscade at the moment of its reaching the quay on the right side of the river. As formerly noticed, no combatant had been seen on the side of the royalists,

who was not attired in some sort of military uniform; so that a round hat on a man dressed *en bourgeois*, was considered, at any distance, as a sure indication of the political feelings of the party who approached. In issuing from the bridge, the third column of citizens was suddenly met by a party of officers and soldiers of the French and Swiss Guard, dressed in coloured clothes, and armed with pistols and poignards. Under this disguise, they were naturally mistaken for the head of one of the columns advancing from the other side; and the citizens on the bridge were not undeceived until a number of them fell under the weapons of those who had resorted to this daring and desperate stratagem. Its success was but momentary; the advance of the main body was hastened rather than retarded by an interruption which could not for the moment be accounted for by those behind; the paid assassins of Polignac and Ragusa were caught in their own snare, and, dead or alive, were thrown into the river, to tell the tale of their disasters to their employers at Saint Cloud.

In another instant, the castle was carried at all points. The breach was effected by the three different columns, so nearly at the same moment, that it has been found impossible to assign the priority to any one of them.

The Tuileries, like the Louvre, presented a

strong position, and, with a force so considerable as that assembled in it, might have long held out against troops so ill supplied with the materials for a siege; but, demoralized and discouraged by the scenes they had witnessed, and the sufferings and privations to which they had been exposed, the household troops, in their defence of the Tuileries, discovered all that reckless and self-immolating desperation to which the folly of their leaders had reduced them.

Many valuable lives were idly sacrificed in this hopeless struggle, apparently from very shame that disciplined and well-armed troops should be compelled to take to flight before a motley mob of men and boys, in shirts and smock frocks, and every conceivable incongruity of arms, apparel, and accoutrement. Beaten in the Place du Carrousel and the adjoining court; again, in the interior of the palace; and finally, in the magnificent gardens to the west; the royalists, harassed and overcome with hunger and fatigue, with shame and despair, were at length constrained to retire by the Place Louis XV., the only point which now remained open to them.

The victory was now complete. At two o'clock on Thursday, the 29th of July, the national standard was substituted for the Bourbon banner, which till then had floated over the central dome surmounting the *Salle des Maré-*

chaux. It was immediately saluted by a general discharge of musketry and artillery, and by the joyful acclamations of the victorious inhabitants.

Among the more distinguished of those who fell in this last attack, were two literary gentlemen, M. Farey, of the Globe, M. Ader, of the Mirror, and a pupil of the Polytechnic School, of the name of Wiemer.

As no immediate demonstration was made of pursuing the fugitives, two regiments had halted in the western part of the garden, to take some refreshment before proceeding on their march. As soon as it was discovered that they had not all made good their retreat, a detachment of citizens advanced to chase them out of the garden, and executed the task with which they were charged so promptly and effectually, as to make prize of the canteens and camp-kettles of the royalists, and of their half-eaten dinner. By this time, also, the cellars of the Tuileries had been ransacked, and several pipes of wine were brought out and rolled into the garden. Here it was suggested by some one, that the 50th and 53d regiments of the Line, who the day before had refused to fire on the people, must still be without provisions, and that the dinner of the Guards, and the wine from the cellars of the Tuileries, could not be better bestowed than in the refreshment of the brave men who had shown so much temper and moderation. The

hint was immediately taken; the provisions and the wine were soon removed to the Place Vendôme, where the neutral regiments had remained under arms since Wednesday afternoon, and where the supply was doubtless abundantly acceptable.

Others there were, it is true, who thought it no sin to taste the contents of the royal cellar, and to drink to the downfall of tyranny, and to the success of the national arms, in the wine which had already lost its owner. It is said that some excesses were committed on this occasion; but if any instances of intoxication occurred, they were probably occasioned quite as much by the delirium of a popular triumph, as by the indulgences alluded to; for if the French people have any national virtue more conspicuous than another, it consists in a degree of temperance and sobriety, which, as far as regards itself, places them far above their insular as well as their continental neighbours.

In the account which has been given in a previous chapter, of the visit which was paid by the Advocate General, Bayeux, to the ministers and the commander-in-chief at an early hour on Thursday morning, it was stated, that in passing from the governor's apartments to Marmont's headquarters by a subterraneous passage, a number of prisoners were observed to be confined in the cellars of the palace. Many of these pri-

soners were not relieved from their dismal situation until after the expulsion of the royal forces, although some of them appear to have been liberated at the moment of the retreat. One of their number, M. Frederic Largue, details the sufferings endured by the prisoners in their captivity in the following terms:—

"On the 28th, I dressed myself in a uniform of the National Guard belonging to my brother, a wine-merchant in the Rue de la Monnaie, at the corner of the Rue Bethisy, and joined a strong detachment of the Parisian guard who were marching with drums beating towards the Louvre. I was placed as a sentinel with one of my comrades near the quay. We 'carried arms' to several officers of the line, who all returned our salute. We expected that a detachment of the Royal Guard, who advanced towards us, would do the same; but one of the officers ordered his men to seize and disarm us. He left us in charge of a party of privates, making them answerable for us with their heads. 'Carry them,' said he, 'to head-quarters; say that we found them caballing in the street; and let them be taken good care of." As soon as the detachment had passed, the soldiers called out to us in derision, 'Run, now, for your lives, and let us have a shot at you!' On our reaching the Place du Carrousel, the guard on duty, drawn out in line, called out to our escort in a similar spirit:

'Fall back, fall back, and let us shoot them on the spot.' We reached head-quarters, however, and an officer having made a *procés verbal* of our arrest, and caused our persons to be searched, reproached us with 'our scoundrel uniform.' We were first confined in a small prison attached to the guard-house, near the King's stables, where eighteen were crowded together. An agent of the police here came to examine us. M. Harelle, a hatter in the Rue Saint Honoré, at the corner of the Rue Saint Florentin, an officer of the National Guard, was one of the prisoners. He had suffered a severe contusion over the eye in defending his epaulette, which had been torn from his shoulder.

"From this place we were conducted by the commissary of police to a larger apartment, where we found that our number had increased to twenty-seven. The officer commanding the post, who was charged with our safe custody, presented himself before us with a drawn sabre in the one hand, and a pistol in the other, declaring that he would shoot the first man who spoke or moved. The night passed in this situation, leaving us ignorant of the fate reserved for us, and not a little alarmed at the ferocity of those who surrounded us.

"On the 29th, at daybreak, we were carried back to head-quarters, and from thence were thrown into a cellar under the gateway, dark as

night, and streaming with moisture. From the number of prisoners, and the great want of ventilation, the air of the cellar soon became tainted; and many of us, overcome with fatigue and alarm, and with other miseries incident to our situation, gave utterance to their lamentations in such terms as seriously to aggravate the sufferings of their neighbours. While some were giving way to grief and despair, others were exclaiming, across the doorway, for air and nourishment. At length, about ten o'clock, some bread was brought to us, as well as to our companions in misfortune, confined in a neighbouring cellar. We were fifty in all, confined in so narrow a space that we were unable to alter our position; and, what added greatly to our sufferings, were not permitted a moment's egress, even singly, on any pretext whatever.

"About one o'clock the commissary of police made his appearance, and told us that he was about to liberate a party of our number. We were then stripped of our uniform; and had scarcely left the place when the Royal Guard loaded us with abuse, and even fired upon us. On this we were obliged to return, and to beg to be conducted to the office of the commissary of police, where we were furnished with passports; but the danger would have been as great as before, had we not been accompanied by a gen-d'arme, who protected us from the rage of enemies, already

defeated at almost every point, and ready to take to flight.

" It is difficult to describe the anguish which we endured in our confinement, aggravated as it was by our total ignorance of what was passing around us."

Before three o'clock hostilities had altogether ceased, and in half an hour afterwards the streets were crowded with the more peaceful part of the population. The course of business, and the business of visiting, resumed their usual activity. Shops and warehouses were re-opened, and before every *porte cochère* a circle of chairs was placed, and a kind of *salon de conversation* established for the purpose of interchanging the details, and recounting the exploits of the last three days. Where every street had its battle, and every house its hero, it is more than pardonable if in the hour of victory and exultation each told his separate tale ; if

> " Thrice he routed all his foes,
> And thrice he slew the slain."

To hear the bursts of laughter which enlivened these unpremeditated meetings, and the jokes and *jeux d'esprit* which called them forth, it would scarcely have occurred to an unconcerned observer, who had not been habituated to the manners of the people, that these were the sallies of men, and of women too, who had shared, or

witnessed such scenes of slaughter as it has been the business of these pages to describe, and that the individuals who thus indulged in mirth and gaiety, were, many of them, the very men who truly told what they had seen, and could as truly add the assurance

—— et quorum pars magna fui.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the scenes of actual conflict, less hilarity was no doubt observable. There the people were occupied in removing the wounded to the hospitals, in paying the last duties to the dead, and in weeping with those disconsolate families who had to mourn the loss of relatives and friends. Every breast was agitated in turn by a succession of contending emotions; but the first burst of joy for the completed victory, or of commiseration for the sufferings of those who had so suddenly been bereft of fathers and of brothers, of husbands and of sons, was soon succeeded by the satisfactory assurance that the national liberties had been decisively vindicated, and that the rights of the people were henceforth unalterably secured. The form which the new government was likely to assume, and the men by whom it was to be administered, were already a subject of universal consideration and inquiry.

The spectacle which Paris presented on the evening of the 29th of July was truly an extraordinary one;—the streets still intersected with

barricades, and strewed with the missiles which had been thrown upon them from above—the houses themselves, with their shattered windows, and all the other marks of a recent struggle; and the parties of armed men who, though harrassed by fatigue, and disturbed with the apprehension of a renewal of hostilities on the morrow, were still on the alert, and assuring to every one, by the firmness and gentleness of their demeanour, a safe protection to life and property. It was not easy to understand by what secret influence the power of these men was so readily recognized, and the corresponding confidence created, or how the principle of good order became at once predominant, not allowing the baser passions even a momentary indulgence, at a period when the absence of any constituted authority appeared to threaten this great capital with all the horrors of anarchy.

It seemed as if every individual had been taught by some secret instinct that the object for which they had fought could only be secured by this exemplary prudence; and that, if the people did not show themselves equal to the great work they had undertaken, the fruits of their victory might be torn from them in the moment of fruition. It was felt, that all Europe were spectators of the struggle, and that foreign interference and hostile occupation might be the consequence of those excesses which are wont to follow in

the train of revolution; and finally and chiefly, it was feared that their perjured monarch and his dynasty might even now be forced upon them by another Holy Alliance. Such were the causes which, joined to the advanced state of knowledge and information among even the humbler classes of the population of Paris, produced that respect for the right of property, and that moderation in the hour of triumph, which have so justly excited the applause and admiration of the world.

CHAPTER XIV.

Progress in the re-organization of the National Guard, and the arrangement of the Provisional Government—Lafayette's Proclamation and Order of the Day—Manifesto from the Municipal Commission—Account of the individuals who signed it—State of the Royal Family at St. Cloud—Confused behaviour of Polignac—Tardy and useless endeavour at conciliation—Reflections on the posture of affairs—Treatment of Marmont by the Duke d'Angoulême.

WHILE the people were engaged in driving the ministers and their adherents from the Louvre and the Tuileries, General Lafayette, and the commissioners appointed by the meeting of Deputies, were not less actively occupied in organizing the National Guard, and in arranging the basis of a provisional government.

At an early hour in the morning, the following proclamation was issued:

"The National Guards of Paris are re-established.

"The colonels and officers are invited to re-organize immediately the service of the National Guards. The

sub-officers and privates should be ready to muster at the first beat of the drum. In the mean time, they are requested to meet at the residences of the officers and sub-officers of their former companies, and enter their names upon the roll. It is important to re-establish good order, and the Municipal Commission of Paris relies upon the accustomed zeal of the National Guards in favour of liberty and public order. The colonels, or, in their absence, the chiefs of battalions, are requested to present themselves immediately at the Hotel de Ville, to consult upon the first steps to be taken for the good of the service. This 29th of July, 1830.

(Signed) "LAFAYETTE."

"A true copy, &c. ZIMMER."

Having speedily collected around him a numerous and respectable staff, General Lafayette soon afterwards issued the folllowing

"ORDER OF THE DAY.

"The General commanding in chief, on issuing this his first order of the day, cannot refrain from expressing his admiration of the patriotic, courageous, and devoted conduct of the population of Paris. They won their freedom in 1789, and France will owe them the same obligation in 1830. The commandant in chief considers it a cause for great satisfaction to the capital and himself, that he is aided by the co-operation and counsel of General Gerard, whose name alone promises every thing for France, and for all Europe; and to whom the general in chief feels bound to express his personal gratitude for his conduct towards his old friend on this important occasion. The generous conduct of the citizens of the capital is a sufficient guarantee that

they will maintain that which they have conquered; but the necessary repose must be united with the noble efforts which the country and the cause of liberty still require from them. The commander in chief is therefore occupied in regulating the duty in such a manner, that a part only of the citizens may need to be under arms on either day. Orders on this point will be published.

"My dear fellow-citizens and brave comrades;—The confidence of the people of Paris has once more called me to the command of the public forces. I accept with devotedness and joy the duties entrusted to me; and, as in 1789, I feel myself strong in the support derived from the approbation of my honourable colleagues now in Paris. I make no profession of my principles: they are already well known. The conduct of the population of Paris during the last days of trial, has made me more than ever proud of being at their head. Liberty shall triumph, or we will all perish together!

"*Vive la liberté! Vive la patrie!*

"*July* 20." "LAFAYETTE."

About the same time, a manifesto made its appearance from the Municipal Commission of the capital, conceived in the following terms:

"INHABITANTS OF PARIS!

"Charles X. has ceased to reign in France. Being incapable of forgetting the origin of his authority, he has always considered himself as the enemy of our country and of its liberties, which he could not understand. After having secretly attacked our institutions by every means that hypocrisy and fraud furnished him with, until he believed himself sufficiently strong to destroy them openly, he had resolved to drown them in the blood of Frenchmen. Thanks to your heroism, the crimes of his power are at an end.

"A few moments have been sufficient to annihilate this corrupt government, which has been nothing but a constant conspiracy against the liberty and prosperity of France. The nation alone is stirring, adorned with her national colours, which she has won at the expense of her blood. She wishes for a government and laws worthy of her.

"What nation in the world deserves liberty better than she does? In the battle you have been heroes.

"Victory in you has shown us those sentiments of moderation and humanity, which evidence in so high a degree the progress of our civilization.

"Conquerors and deliverers of yourselves, without police, without magistrates, your virtue has taken the place of all organization; and never were the rights of every individual more religiously respected. Inhabitants of Paris! we are proud of being your brothers. In accepting, under present circumstances, a mandate so grave and difficult, your municipal commission has desired to associate itself with your devoted efforts. Its members want means to express to you the admiration and gratitude of the country.

"Their sentiments, their principles, are yours. In place of an authority imposed on you by foreign arms, you will have a government which will owe its origin to yourselves. Merit is in all classes. All classes have the same rights; these rights are assured to them. '*Vive la France! Vive le peuple de Paris! Vive la liberté!*'

"Lobau, Audry de Puyraveau,
"Mauguin, De Schonen.

"The Secretary of the Municipal Commission,
"Odillon Barrot."

This document is of so decisive a character, that it may be necessary to say something of the

individuals who were bold enough to put their names to it. They had all been members of the Chamber of Deputies.

The Count de Lobau is a lieutenant-general in the army, and one of the representatives for the department of the Meurthe. His character has always stood high as that of a man of honour and probity; he has served in the field with the greatest distinction, and in the Chamber was not less courageous in supporting the principles of the charter, and in defending the rights of the people.

M. Audry de Puyraveau, one of the representatives of the department of the Charente Inferior, is a man of extensive property. He was first returned by the electors of Rochefort; and during the sessions of 1828 and 1829, he fully justified the opinion which his constituents had formed of his character. His talents as an orator are not of the first order, but he is nevertheless a man of great natural shrewdness and discernment, and has uniformly maintained those decidedly constitutional principles which suggested his nomination as a commissioner, in this national emergency.

M. Mauguin, one of the representatives of the Côte d'Or, is a member of the Parisian bar, possessed of considerable talents as a public speaker, but unhappily impelled by a restless thirst of distinction, which renders him constantly unsatisfied

with his present condition. He first brought himself into notice by his manner of defending the parties charged with political delinquencies during the Villèle administration. His pleadings became a ready vehicle for the dissemination of opinions highly offensive to the ministry; and on his declamations at the bar, and the profession which he there made of his political faith, he raised a reputation which is supposed to be higher than is warranted by the genius or judgment of its possessor. His diction is characterized by subtlety of language and causticity of expression, combined with a certain spirit of order and analysis, which is highly favourable to the clearness and effect of his argumentative and oratorical displays. He was returned in 1828 for the department of the Deux Sèvres, as well as for that of the Côte d'Or, when he made his option for that which he represents in the present Chamber.

The Baron de Schonen is one of the representatives of the metropolitan department of the Seine, and a councillor in the royal court of Paris, distinguished in the Cour Royal for the ultra-liberalism of his political opinions. In compliance with the custom of the country, he pronounced a funereal oration over the tomb of his friend Manuel, which it was thought necessary to denounce before the tribunals. A pamphlet, which he published about the time of his

marriage with the daughter of M. de Corcelles, bears the following singular and characteristic title: "*De la noblesse Française selon la Charte, et un Mot sur les ordres de Chevalerie, par un gentilhomme, qui avant tout est Français et citoyen.*" M. de Schonen is a person of active and methodical habits, and a firm supporter of constitutional opinions, in the Chamber as well as on the judgment-seat. He sits on the extreme left, between M. Demarçay and M. Bavoux.

The scene at Saint Cloud, during the final struggle in the capital, was one of confusion, agitation, and alarm. Their actual condition was, as much as possible, concealed from the fallen monarch and his family. More inquisitive than his father, but scarcely less incredulous as to the unfavourable result of the contest, the Dauphin had obtained more correct information as to the progress of the revolutionary movement, which had already made such rapid advances. In spite of the excessive heat of the weather, he had remained all the morning in a state of listless inactivity, on the terrace at Saint Cloud, which commands a distant view of the capital, and, with a telescope in his hand, was seen, from time to time, to look through it with attention, as if inspired with some presentiment of the intelligence, so fatal to the hopes of his family, which through that medium was to reach

him. Soon after two o'clock he once more applied the instrument to his eye, and, changing colour repeatedly, withdrew it, with the exclamation, that the troops were defeated, for that the three-coloured flag was already flying over the palace of the Tuileries!

The disastrous intelligence was forthwith communicated to the King, and was speedily spread over every quarter of the palace. The ministers had arrived some hours before, and the King proceeded to interrogate the Prince de Polignac more closely than he had yet done, as to the state of affairs in the capital; but the poor Prince was already so overwhelmed with the circumstances of his own situation, as to be unable to afford his Majesty any intelligible information—confounding dates, facts, and places, and twice interrupting his royal master, as has been seriously asserted, to call for post-horses. After recovering some self-possession, the Prince's only idea was how he should justify his own conduct, and his only resource, to throw the whole blame on the Duke of Ragusa, whom he reproached with the adoption of half measures, and with a want of decision in his operations. Yet, throughout the whole proceeding, the military energies of the country, in the absence of General Bourmont, the minister at war, were entirely at the disposal of the Prince himself, as provisionally charged with the portfolio of that department.

Before this telegraphic announcement of the

defeat of the troops, a council had been held, at which resolutions of a conciliatory tendency were adopted, such as two days before might have had the desired effect of tranquillizing the public mind, and saving the monarchy. From this council a communication was transmitted to the Provisional Government, announcing the King's readiness to relinquish the high ground he had hitherto taken, and to accept the terms which had previously been proposed on the part of the Deputies, and which had been so laconically rejected by the Prince de Polignac. Some hours had been lost in the morning, through the difficulty of finding the Duke de Mortemart, on whom it was proposed to lay the responsibility of recognizing the government; and, before the arrival of the despatches from Saint Cloud at the Hotel de Ville, the members of the Municipal Commission had put their names to the manifesto which has already been quoted, and which, perhaps, made it impossible for them to recede, even on the supposition that, after so much bloodshed, the terms were still admissible.

But it would be unjust to the spirit by which the commissioners were guided, to make the personal hazard to which they had exposed themselves in a crisis of the greatest difficulty and danger, a point of doubt in the estimate of any part of their conduct. When the emergency arose which called for their services, they had acted as became them, like honest and courageous

citizens, and had obviously set their lives and fortunes on the cast which they had thrown. They were already convinced, from what they had witnessed during the first two days of the struggle, that the crown was absolutely and irretrievably lost for Charles and his family. It is very doubtful whether the conditions proposed by M. Lafitte and the deputation which accompanied him to the head-quarters of the Duke of Ragusa, would have been sanctioned even at that early period by the inhabitants at large; but there is no room for hesitation as to the judgment which the French people would have passed on a capitulation like that proposed on Thursday morning, had it then been possible for the commissioners to have listened to it.

It would also be unjust to the fallen monarch to withhold the fact, that before the capture of the Louvre and the Tuileries, or, which is the same thing as regards his feelings on the occasion, before the fact was known at St. Cloud, a proclamation was issued, (and an attempt, at least, made to give it publicity,) conceived in the following terms:—

"FRENCHMEN!

"The misfortunes of yesterday have deeply afflicted my heart.

"I order that the firing do instantly cease.

(Signed) "CHARLES."

"*Saint Cloud, July* 29."

Like the previous proclamation of the Duke of Ragusa, this last was interpreted, and perhaps in this instance unjustly interpreted, as a mere attempt at deception. To these addresses an answer soon appeared. The zeal with which it was circulated made it obvious that this reply, although it bore no signature, conveyed the true sentiments of the great body of the people.

"BRAVE CITIZENS;

"Our enemies, alarmed at your courage, endeavour to put it to rest by spreading the report that the atrocious measures of a government which no longer exists have been recalled. Their object is to make you lay down your arms, that they may afterwards take you by surprise. Do not believe them; remain in arms and in good order; follow the brave generals who march at your head; and you will ensure the salvation of the country, and the possession of that freedom which credulity would lose you for ever."

Throughout these days of trial the hereditary Counsellors of the crown displayed a degree of backwardness and timidity which it is impossible to reconcile with any just idea of the high duties attached to the peerage. At no period since the restoration, (with the single exception of their patriotic interference for the protection of the liberty of the press against the project of M. de Villèle,) had they assumed that dignified and energetic attitude prescribed to them alike by their place in the constitution, and their elevated

rank in society. At the good pleasure of every succeeding administration, they had allowed their members to be arbitrarily decimated, and as arbitrarily multiplied, with an exemplary degree of long-suffering and resignation.

Charles X. and his family might undoubtedly have been saved on Monday the 26th of July, had the peers come boldly and generously forward to protest against the royal ordinances, and to declare that they would not ally themselves, as a legislative body, with the spurious Chamber which these edicts had created. The silence of the peers on that occasion will probably prove to have been an act of self-destruction. The progress of events seems to point very clearly to the termination of their hereditary privileges, and to the paramount ascendancy of the democratic principle in the French constitution.

In the midst of this general inactivity, a solitary attempt was made by the Grand Referendary, M. de Sémonville, to obtain access to the King, and to make a candid disclosure of all the information he had obtained, and all the opinions he had formed on the subject of passing events. But it was Thursday morning before he arrived at Saint Cloud, and he was still impressed with the erroneous idea that some accommodation was practicable. It was he who first suggested the double abdication of the King and the Dauphin in favour of the Duke of Bordeaux, a measure

which would not at any time have satisfied the nation, and which involved a personal sacrifice, for which neither the King nor the Dauphin had yet prepared himself.

While matters were in this situation, the Duke of Ragusa made his appearance at Saint Cloud after his final expulsion from the capital. He was received by the Duke d'Angoulême with unequivocal marks of dissatisfaction and displeasure; and, on his attempting some defence of his conduct, the Dauphin demanded, in a tone of petulance not very princely or dignified, if he knew to whom he addressed himself?

"A Monseigneur le Duc d'Angoulême," was Marmont's reply.

"Au généralissime des troupes de France," rejoined the Dauphin, "à un homine qui vous connaît enfin, vous, traître à tous les partis, misérable! qui avez vendu la France aux alliés, et nous à la France."

To this tirade the Duke of Ragusa made no articulate reply, and the Dauphin, losing all command of his temper, exclaimed—

"Rendez-moi votre épée: donnez-moi votre épée."

With these words he seized the sword, and, in attempting to break it, inflicted a wound on his hand which produced an exclamation loud enough to bring to the scene of the interview some of the guards in attendance, when his royal highness

directed that Marmont should immediately be placed under arrest.

The King having been informed of the incident, expressed his regret at his son's unseasonable violence, and endeavoured to effect a reconciliation by directing that Marmont's arrest should be limited to a single hour, and that a cover should be placed for him at the royal table. The King's commands having been communicated to the Duke, he ventured to decline the royal invitation, observing to the officer who brought it, "that he had lost his appetite!"

CHAPTER XV.

Hasty rally of the Royal forces, previously to their evacuation of Paris—Their departure—Occupation of the Tuileries by a party of the National Guard—Attempts at plunder successfully resisted—Discoveries in the Royal Apartments—Various anecdotes—Traits of female heroism—Incidents connected with the retreat of the troops through the Champs Elyseés.

After finally retiring from the gardens of the Tuileries, the royal forces rallied on the Champs Elysées, to the number of three or four thousand. At the barrière de l'Etoile, and around the unfinished triumphal arch which has had so many destinations, a halt was made, which created some uneasiness in Paris, and gave rise to the report of its being Marmont's intention to bombard the capital during the night. It was afterwards ascertained, however, that the pause was occasioned by the commander's knowledge of the fact, that the inhabitants of Neuilly had thrown a barricade across their bridge, and had risen in arms for the purpose of securing for the

citizens a point of communication, which, in case of the continuance of hostilities, would undoubtedly have proved of very great importance to the party who might remain in possession of it.

This patriotic proceeding had the effect of inducing the royal forces to diverge from the avenue de Neuilly, after wantonly firing a number of round shot through the village, in the direction of the bridge; and, having entered the Bois de Boulogne on the left, they proceeded across the royal preserves towards the bridges which communicate with Sevrès and Saint Cloud.

As soon as the palace had been evacuated, a party of two hundred National Guards, under the command of M. Maës, was sent by Colonel Zimmer, the chief of Lafayette's staff, to take possession of the building, and protect it from the excesses which were to be expected in the hour of victory. M. Maës, with the assistance of M. Brougniard, a pupil of the Polytechnic School, after causing all the outer gates to be shut, insisted on every individual who left the palace being searched and stript of any property which might have been unduly appropriated.

Before the arrival of this party some scenes of disorder had already occurred, excited probably by such as wished to benefit by the confusion which they made it their business to create. The ambuscade which had issued from the Pa-

villon de Flore, the town residence of the Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême, was made a pretext for commencing the plunder of their royal highnesses' apartments, and for throwing many articles of value from the windows into the garden, and on the adjoining quay. The more orderly of the citizens resisted these acts of rapine; on which a violent struggle ensued between those who wished to plunder, and those who were desirous that the popular triumph should not be thus dishonoured. In this affray, the friends of good order proved victorious, and had already posted sentinels at every practicable outlet, to prevent the abstraction of the property.

It is of course impossible to say that no losses were sustained; but it is a fact which deserves to be noticed, that a minute or *procès verbal* was prepared at the Bourse of all such articles as were afterwards restored, in compliance with a suggestion to that effect in the public papers; and from this record it appears that gold and silver plate which had belonged to the Duke d'Angoulême, and had been thrown from the windows of his apartments, has thus been recovered to the amount of 19,800 ounces.

In the apartments of the Duchess de Berri no such violence was committed. It is stated that two men of the class of labourers having found there a casket of great value, proceeded with it directly to the Hotel de Ville, and de-

posited it with the officers of the newly constituted government, refusing even to accept any receipt or acknowledgment for the service they had performed.

The tastes and habits of the different members of the royal family were, in some degree, discoverable from the state of their places of abode. The library of the Duchess de Berri contained a collection of all that was interesting or important in modern literature; her residence was adorned with a good collection of pictures, and of specimens in almost every department of modern art. A well-thumbed missal was the only book to be found in the apartments inhabited by the King himself; and in those of the Duke d'Angoulême, the most prominent were a collection of almanacks, beginning as far back as the fifteenth century.

The appearance which these apartments presented after the capture of the palace by the populace, afforded a striking example of the close alliance which is supposed to exist between the sublime and the ridiculous. The royal couch was invaded by half a dozen of the exhausted throng, who, to judge from their restlessness, did not seem to find it a bed of roses. In the chair of state sat a man with a bottle of champagne in one hand, and a glass in the other, which he distributed to all around him in a style of royal munificence, such as no pencil but

that of a Hogarth or a Cruickshank could adequately represent. But this caricature of majesty very readily gave way on the approach of a party of young men bearing the body of a pupil of the Polytechnic School, who had been killed in one of the apartments when the troops were making their final retreat. His remains were placed on the throne itself, and there continued under a covering of crape, until removed by his fellow-students for interment.

Among the *notabilités* of Paris, M. de Laborde was one of the first who on Thursday morning accepted a command in the National Guard. He placed himself at the head of the second arrondissement, and appointed the riding-school in the Rue Cadet as the place of rendezvous. Three companies were instantly formed, and selected their old officers by acclamation. In one of them there served as privates Monsieur Ferrère Lafitte, M. Eugène Lafitte, M. Adolphe Lafitte, M. Morlot, M. Bainière the stockbroker, and M. Lareguy the banker. They had been directed to halt for fresh orders at the entrance of the Faubourg Montmartre, and there, in fact, two separate orders arrived directly contradictory of each other. M. de Laborde communicated both to the detachment under his command, saying:—"Comrades! you see that on the one hand we are required to remain in our arrondissement, and to disperse to our several

homes until further orders; and on the other, our assistance is wanted where fighting is going on: which order shall we obey? "*Au feu! au feu!*" was the unanimous answer to this appeal. The party proceeded to the Theatre Français, where a reinforcement had been appointed to muster, and they reached the Place du Palais Royal immediately after some brave fellows had succeeded in securing a piece of cannon. The victors were riding on it *en cheval*, the women of the neighbourhood had strewed it with flowers, and the column of citizens who had come to the relief of the captors, were carrying them off in triumph.

M. Alexandre Lefebvre, who commanded a post in the Rue des Martyrs, discovered that one of his party was a young woman armed with sword and pistols, and in masculine attire. It was in vain that M. Lefebvre pointed out to her the danger to which she was exposing herself. "I have no children," she said; "this is my husband beside me: I share all his sentiments, and if it be necessary, I am ready to die with him."

It is attested, also, by the officer in command of the post at the Tuileries, that among the National Guards who conducted themselves in a manner the most brilliant and the most courageous, was a young person, Mademoiselle Josephine Mercier, by profession an *accoucheuse*,

residing in the Rue Monsieur le Prince, No. 15. She was known in the ranks by the name of Victor, and called herself a student of medicine. She wore a green frock coat, through the skirts of which two bullets had passed. Her complexion was delicate, so that she looked like a boy of fifteen. She was generally the first in leading a patrol or a party of observation, and often exposed her life in the attentions she paid to the wounded.

Another instance of female heroism is that of Madame Laval, of the Rue Saint Denis, No. 200. The mother of four sons, she had constantly encouraged them, both by exhortation and example, in constructing the barricades. When these ramparts were completed, she provided them with arms, and went with them herself to see them take their place in the ranks.

A young woman of the humblest class, who resides in the Rue de l'Odeon, and who became known during the days of the revolution by the name of the "*petite vivandière*," observing the sufferings to which the men under arms were exposed by the extreme heat of the weather, and the thirst and exhaustion produced by it, conceived the idea of making herself useful, by disposing of her little property, and with the proceeds purchasing a supply of wine and brandy, and other more substantial means of refreshment.

With her basket on her back, and a pitcher of water in her hand, the zealous little commissary traversed the ranks of the citizens, distributing to one a morsel of bread, to another a seasonable draught; stimulating the courage of some, and dressing the wounds of others; and, in short, making herself so actively useful, that she seemed to be everywhere present. When victory had declared for the citizens, they carried her in triumph through the town; but, although she had not hesitated to show herself in the midst of the carnage, it was evidently with reluctance that she yielded to a ceremony which made her an object of such general attention.

Of the retreat through the Champs Elysées, and along the avenue de Neuilly, the following account is given by the Messrs. Crucy, who reside near the barrière de l'Etoile:

On the approach of the troops, these gentlemen had retired into a wooden shed which overlooks the avenue, and from thence observed the extraordinary appearance presented by the fugitives. There were horses without riders, and soldiers without arms; foot soldiers on horseback, and lancers of the Guard on foot; some carrying more than one musket, and others half naked, and disguised in every conceivable form. A young man, without hat or shoes, was mounted on a magnificent charger; another had nothing to cover him but a piece of tattered tapes-

try; and not a few were dressed as women. In the midst of the crowd were a number of waggons, very heavily loaded with fugitives mounted on them, probably of some note, but stripped also of their upper garments, as if afraid that their dress should lead to their recognition.

Soldiers were seen occasionally to leave the ranks, as if impelled by rage or despair, and, halting at the openings of the adjoining streets, would fire on any one they saw either out of doors or at the windows. A number of individuals were thus killed in the Rue de Montaigne, the Rue du Colysée, the Rue d'Angoulême, and other parallel streets.

The Messrs. Crucy were not provided with arms, but had collected a store of paving stones and other missiles, to throw, if necessary, from an elevated position within their premises. They were in this situation when a dismounted cuirassier stopped in front of the shed behind which they were concealed, raised his sabre, and laid his hand on one of the boards of the building. A stone was already raised to crush him, when they observed that the poor man was wounded in the arm, that he was presenting his sword, and begging for life in the name of his poor mother.

"You are deceiving us," said young Crucy; "see where your comrades are firing down the opposite streets; if they see us, they will turn

upon us."—"No," replied the cuirassier, "they have fought, as I have done, against their will; it is in their despair that they seek to sell their lives, because they know not to whom to surrender, and cannot hope for mercy. They will not fire on their protectors." On this frank avowal they regarded the wounded cuirassier as a victim to the rule of discipline; and, in spite of the danger to which they exposed themselves, they opened their gate, took him by the arm, and led him into the vestibule, where, with the assistance of the porter, his wound was dressed, and other attentions bestowed on him.

But a genadier, who had misunderstood this generous movement, and thought that they were leading in his comrade for the purpose of killing him, hastened to the gate, and had levelled his piece at the inmates, when he saw the male inhabitants surrounding their guest, and the women bathing his wound. "Are you, then, the friends of the King?" exclaimed the grenadier.—"No," replied M. Crucy; "but we are willing to succour a Frenchman who has been so far misled as to fire on the people." On this, the grenadier broke his firelock on the stones, and repeated that he too, like the others, had fought against his will. He implored an asylum, which was readily granted, and the door was closed after him.

The protestations of these unhappy men con-

vinced their liberators that others might be withdrawn from the cause of tyranny; and that with their muskets and sabres they might arm an equal number of well-disposed citizens. As soon as this idea was suggested, they threw open their folding-doors, and offered an asylum to all comers. But terror and distrust prevented the fugitives from understanding this generous appeal. Two others only availed themselves of it, at the moment when they were absolutely sinking with fatigue.

Soon afterwards, a mounted trooper was stopped in front of the house. He had drawn his sword and struck a citizen, on which the people of the neighbourhood threw themselves upon him, and were about to dispatch him. The blow of a paving-stone had brought down both man and horse, and had left him in the ditch between the trees of the boulevards. On hearing his cries, M. Crucy ran out and begged of the group who had gathered around him to have mercy on the fallen man. "He can no longer hurt us," said M. Crucy; "and the victory of the Parisians is so complete and so noble, that we can well afford to be generous. Let us not sully it by a murder, however just it may be." The idea of vengeance was readily abandoned, and M. Crucy, taking the unfortunate horseman by the arm, carried him into the house almost against his will.

Observing in the vestibule a collection of arms and uniforms, he at once formed the idea that that they must have belonged to men who had been murdered; and, swearing like a madman, he turned towards the door. "If you think yourself in any danger," said M. Crucy, "you are at liberty to go; but first go in with us, and see your comrades covered with our clothes and seated at our table; and after that you may go if you will." Still trembling with rage, he refused to advance; but the younger Crucy having opened the door of the apartment, enabled him to see his companions in misfortune. At this sight he asked pardon, and embraced his liberators.

These unhappy men, having cut their moustachoes, assisted in making for themselves three-coloured cockades. The Messrs. Crucy and their neighbour, M. Devis, provided them with round hats and coloured clothes, and even the porter of the house stripped himself of a vest, a smock-frock, and a pair of shoes, to assist in providing the poor fellows with disguises. It was the porter's wife who bathed the wound of the cuirassier.

On the following day, the men, thus refreshed and attired, set out in quest of their connexions in the city, leaving their arms and baggage with M. Crucy, who gave one of the sabres to a

neighbour setting out on the expedition to Rambouillet, and delivered the rest of the property to the mayor of his arrondissement, as goods belonging to the state.

CHAPTER XVI.

Proclamation made by the Provisional Government, after the popular triumph—Submission of the Royalist troops, in consequence—Instances of humane interposition on the part of individuals, on behalf of the Military—Fine example of self-sacrifice shown by a woman—Characteristic sayings, produced by the circumstances of the Revolution—An illustration of the feeling among the soldiery—The bombarded house—The interment of the dead, with the scenes attendant on that office.

ONE of the first measures of the Provisional Government, after the popular triumph had been secured, was to issue the following proclamation, addressed to the misguided soldiery:

"PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

"The troops of the Royal Guard, and of the Line, are ordered to present themselves within forty-eight hours at the provisional camp established at Vaugirard.

"We give our word of honour that no harm shall befall them, and that every soldier shall be treated as a friend and a brother, receiving rations and lodging until our farther orders.

"For the Commander-in-Chief,

"GERARD,

"The second in command, PAJOL."

This order was very generally obeyed; but before it had been effectually promulgated, a number of soldiers, reduced to a state of desperation, after throwing away their arms, had endeavoured to conceal themselves in the great hotel of the minister for foreign affairs on the Boulevard des Capucines. The place of their retreat was singularly ill chosen, from its tendency to rouse all the hostile feelings of the people, as soon as it was known that the residence of the chief criminal had become the hiding-place of the instruments of his crime. The hotel was attacked by the citizens, whose vindictive feelings had been roused by the cruelties they had witnessed. The cries of vengeance from without, and of mercy from within, had already excited a very serious fermentation, when M. Joseph Perier, the brother of M. Casimir Perier, and M. Garnier Perille of Loigny, rushed among the assailants, at great personal hazard, and, by the firmness of their demeanour, and the severity of the reproof which they administered, succeeded in rescuing the unhappy men, who were thus on the point of being sacrificed to the popular indignation, from the fate which too surely awaited them.

This is no rare instance of protection afforded to the military from the exasperation of the populace, by the firmness and humanity of individuals. Not far from the Protestant chapel, called the Oratoire, in the Rue Saint Honoré, a man dressed

in coloured clothes was recognized as the officer who, on the Tuesday before, had commanded the post of gen-d'armes at the prefecture of police. It was said so, at least, as he passed; and the report having speedily circulated from mouth to mouth, the supposed gen-d'arme was loaded with imprecation and abuse, and some one was heard to exclaim that justice should be done upon him—that he ought to be exterminated. Pistols were already produced, and naked swords had made their appearance, when M. Paul Caffe, one of the house surgeons of the Hotel Dieu, succeeded in penetrating the crowd which had collected, exclaiming that there was no more need of victims, and that it would be shameful thus to massacre an unarmed man. He then pulled a small pistol from his pocket, and, seizing the man by the collar, declared that he would blow out the brains of the first who injured him, adding that he would himself carry the prisoner to the Hotel de Ville, and ascertain his identity. The crowd were deterred from farther interference by M. Caffe's determined attitude; and a person of superior appearance, who had witnessed the transaction, presented him with a highly-mounted pistol of larger calibre, saying: "Since you make such good use of your arms, young man, here is one which will better serve your present purpose." It was with this weapon that M. Caffe continued to escort his *protegé* to the Place de Grève, where the

man was recognized as a retired custom-house officer, who had thus so nearly fallen a victim to the mistake of an excited populace.

The following incident is also stated on M. Caffe's authority. He was returning at ten o'clock on Tuesday morning from the mairie of his arrondissement in the Rue Geoffroy Lasnier, when, in passing under the arcade of the Hotel de Ville, he met a detachment of gen-d'armerie, who had surrendered the post at the Town Hall, without resistance, to a large body of citizens, most of whom were armed with firelocks. In passing along the Place de Grève he found there also a strong body of citizens, and, continuing his route by the bridge of Notre Dame, he saw a party make their appearance of about twenty-five grenadiers of the Royal Guard, under the command of a lieutenant. M. Caffe informed the officer that the post of the Hotel de Ville was no longer in the hands of the royal troops, and that if he were so imprudent as to go thither, his party would undoubtedly be cut to pieces. The officer replied that he knew his orders, and that it was no part of his duty to obey the first stranger he met. He then gave the word "forward" to his men, in a tone which forbade any further interference. M. Caffe turned back to observe the issue, and sheltered himself within the doorway of the wine-shop which forms the corner of the quay, and of

the Place de Grève. Scarcely had the soldiers of the Guard turned this corner, when the citizens called out to them to lay down their arms. The lieutenant ordered his men to present their pieces, and to fire. A murderous discharge immediately took place on either side: ten of the soldiers were killed, and not one of them escaped unwounded. The event which M. Caffe had anticipated was thus painfully verified. Provided with his surgical instruments, he hastened to the relief of both parties: the officer he found with his thigh broken by a musket-ball, and with two bayonet wounds in his breast; he lived only an hour and a half, and repeatedly pressed the young surgeon's hand, as if to ask pardon for the rudeness with which he had repulsed the seasonable advice which had been given to him.

Another party of the Royal Guard, after long contending against superior numbers, continued to persist in the unequal contest with so much resolution, as seriously to try the firmness of those opposed to them. At one moment the citizens had given way, but having afterwards rallied, the detachment of the Guards, who were now reduced to ten in number, advanced and offered to surrender. "No quarter for these cut-throats!" the popular party exclaimed, and were about to put their threat in execution, had not M. Pelars, a young man who had mixed in

the crowd for the purpose of assisting one of the wounded, thrown himself between the two parties, and turning towards the citizens, exclaimed, —"What would you do, spilling more blood? Are they not Frenchmen? Are they not our fellow-citizens, our brothers, and would you be so barbarous as to murder them after they have laid down their arms?" "But look, sir!" exclaimed one of the most furious, pointing to a bloody corpse on the ground, "that is my brother: he fell beside me, and it was these cut-throats who killed him. No quarter! no quarter!" and the word was repeated from every mouth. "They shall not perish, or I shall die the first!" exclaimed the generous young man, placing himself in front of the royalists: and, laying hold of the fixed bayonet of one of the levelled muskets, he called out, "Fire on me if you dare." Those whose passions were most inflamed were calmed and disarmed by this heroic interference, and the lives of the guardsmen were spared.

An incident which occurred in the Rue Saint Honoré, at the corner of the Rue de l'Echelle, where similar heroism was displayed by a woman whose name remains unknown, had unhappily a very different termination. She had observed with what dreadful effect a piece of artillery had been fired along this great thoroughfare, and conceived the idea of stopping the slaughter, by

appealing to the humanity of the gunners. She went up to them, exclaiming :—" Epargnez-nous, je vous en supplie : epargnez vos concitoyens : ne tirez plus." Having observed that the piece had just been recharged, and that the match was ready to be applied to it, she redoubled her supplications, but in vain :—" Eh bien," she said, throwing herself before the mouth of the gun, " c'est sur moi que vous tirerez ! Aurez vous bien le cœur de massacrer une femme qui s'offre a vos coups ?" The astonished gunner, taking her by the arm, replied :—" Ma petite dame, ôtez vous que je fasse mon devoir : tout ceci ne vous regarde pas ; vous allez vous faire echarper." But she persisted in clinging to the mouth of the gun, and embraced it so closely, that she could not be removed from it. " Non," she cried ; " non, vous ne tirerez pas ; ou bien ce sera sur moi." The gunner was deeply affected, and hesitated, not knowing what to do ; cursing this civil war and all its horrors from the bottom of his heart. The officer who commanded, observing that the populace were preparing to avail themselves of the gunner's hesitation, in order to lay hold of the piece, exclaimed, " Malheureux, feu, ou je te passe mon sabre au travers du ventre." Either from long habits of obedience, or from fear of this menace, the gunner applied the match to the piece, and the body of the un-

fortunate woman was scattered in a thousand fragments.

"Voilà les precepteurs du peuple!" is the observation ascribed to M. de Peyronnet, on the first appearance of the artillery. The princes at Saint Cloud were soon afterwards regaled with this atrocious pleasantry. How sadly must it now have lost its relish both for prince and peer!

Witticisms of a less offensive character were to be heard too on the popular side. On the quay de la Grève, at the corner of the Rue des Barres, an eight pound bullet is suspended by a three-coloured ribbon, surmounted by a large cockade, and bearing the inscription,

"PRUNE DE MONSIEUR, 28 JUILLET, 1830."

In the Rue Saint Antoine also, a number of round shot have been attached, in the style of a lady's necklace, to one of the ropes which traverse the street, and from which the public lamps of the city are suspended, with a scroll attached to it, whereon is scratched in large characters:

"PAROLES TOUCHANTES DU BON ROI CHARLES X. A SON PEUPLE."

Among the chronological coincidencies which have been observed between the two French revolutions, the Parisians delight to remind you, that the 28th of July 1830 corresponds with the ermidor in the year three, and that the

fall of Charles X. thus took place on the anniversary of that of Robespierre.

" They may say what they please," said some one, " of the 14th of July," which is considered a white day in the French calendar, from its marking the fall of the Bastile, " *but it will never be more than the* HALF *of the 28th.*"

Almost every great personage in France has some clever saying associated with his name. That of Charles X. is said to have been uttered on his entering Paris at the period of the restoration: " Il n'est qu'un Français de plus." This royal *mot* has suggested the idea of a song, with the burden,

> " Eh bien! qu'il reparte aussitôt;
> Ce n'est plus qu'un Français *de trop.*"

In the Catholic liturgy, the daily prayer for the King is " domine, salvum fac regem." A *curé* in the neighbourhood of Paris in reading the regular routine from his prayer-book, was startled when he came to the word *regem*, and making a pause while he thought of some substitute, found his latinity at fault, and at length shouted out, amidst the ill-concealed laughter of his audience, " domine, salvum fac *le gouvernement provisoire.*"

It was Louis XI. who first assumed the title of his most Christian Majesty. The people of Paris now say that Philippe le Bel was not quite

so good a Christian as Louis XI.; that Charles IX. was a little better; but that Charles X. has surpassed them all.

A note is said to have been found in the archiepiscopal palace, at the time when it was entered by the citizens, conceived in the following terms:—

"Mon cher archeveque, venez me voir demain; nous lirons ensemble le pseaume LX.

"CHARLES."

The following incident is stated on the authority of the two associated poets, Barthelemy and Mery.

"On the 28th, at three o'clock, attacks were made on all points. A battalion of the National Guard had formed itself in the Rue Croix des Petits Champs, and on the Place des Victoires. The crowd, thinking that all was finished, were mad with joy; the battalion descended towards the Rue Saint Honoré.

"We had entered a neighbouring house to take some refreshment, and were congratulating ourselves on the success of the Parisians, when an alarming fire of musketry burst over the Rue Croix des Petits Champs. The volleys of platoons, which were fired with technical precision, led us to suppose that it was a regiment of the Guard, which had issued by the Rue Bailliff. We descended by the Rue Coquillière; the

smoke was there so dense, that it was impossible to distinguish any thing at the distance of six paces. The fire suddenly ceased, and our hearts sank within us, when we recognized those troops of the Line on whom we had founded such delightful hopes. On the benches placed at the two corners of the street, groups of soldiers were seated, quietly smoking their pipes. This was their conversation: 'What a rascally trade is ours! I have a mind to send the musket to the devil.' 'They sent me to the guard-house this morning; they might have let me remain there for two or three days: it would have been more to my taste.'—'Ah! ça,' said the first speaker, 'and why should we fire on the bourgeois? Do they think we have no bowels?'—'If this lasts,' cried another, I for one shall move my camp. I am not engaged for that.' Each of these observations, so contrary to all discipline, was received with signs of approbation, by the soldiers collected around the speaker. We then ventured to inquire, why, with such sentiments, they had sometimes consented to fire upon the towns-people? The question produced an indescribable smile on the rough and masculine features of the party; and a serjeant said to us, 'Gentlemen, take the trouble to turn the corner of the street, and count your dead!'

"The street in all its breadth was unstained

with blood: these brave fellows had fired in the air!"

The house which is thought to have suffered the most, during this short campaign, is that which is situated in the Grande Rue du Faubourg Saint Antoine, facing the Rue de Charonne, bearing the Nos. 78, 80, and 82. Three officers of rank had been killed on the street in front of this house; and that circumstance had probably exasperated the artillery-men, who immediately directed upon it their battery of twelve pounders, and two twenty-four inch howitzers. The first cannon shot brought down one of the great beams of the roof; the second swept away the ridge of another; and a third passed through a wall, which supported a great stack of chimneys. After so much success, it seemed as if they had resolved to demolish the whole building, as they then pointed one of the howitzers on the stack of chimnies, which rested on the wall. The first shell took the wall at an angle, making a considerable breach in it, and afterwards, falling on the roof, exploded as it sank. The second shell, directed against the centre of the wall, traversed three of the chimnies, and falling down through the fourth, descended to the first floor, where it burst, breaking the windows and looking-glasses, levelling the partition-walls, and destroying the furniture.

The proprietor found it necessary, so great was the damage, to prop up the exterior walls, in consequence of their shattered condition, lest more serious accidents should be occasioned by its falling into the street. Only one individual was killed by this bombardment, and he was a stranger, attracted to the spot by curiosity.

The excellent municipal regulation, which forbids the interment of the dead within the walls of Paris, was necessarily departed from on this distressing occasion. The excessive heat of the weather increased the urgency of the case; and the existence of the barricades created obstacles at every step. On the evening of the 29th, and the morning of the following day, many a sad sight was witnessed on the streets of Paris; but in every case, the most solemn respect, the most touching solicitude, attended the victims who had fallen on the field of honour. A number of individuals were privately interred in courts and gardens. The piece of enclosed ground which forms the terrace, under the colonnade of the Louvre, became a general burying-place. At the end next the quay, eighty unclaimed bodies were placed in two large pits, between two beds of quick lime. It was during this mournful operation, that a brother was recognized by his brother: his remains were so covered with blood, as to make his person almost undistinguishable. The brother threw himself on the body,

with cries and wailing, and would not be separated, until he had cut a lock of his hair.—The bodies of the dead received all the honours due to soldiers, and to Christians; discharges of musketry were fired over this great tomb, and the Abbé Paravey, of Saint Germain l'Auxerrois, dressed in his sacerdotal habit, pronounced a benediction on their resting-place, and was reconducted to the gate of his church by the armed men. The ground is marked by a broken column covered with flowers and laurels, and three-coloured flags, and the whole is surmounted by a black cross, inscribed with the legend—

"AUX FRANÇAIS MORTS POUR LA LIBERTÉ!"

On the 30th of July, an equally melancholy spectacle was presented to the inhabitants of Paris. At the Morgue, a large vessel was moored, with a black flag floating over it, to receive the bodies of the victims of the previous days. They were carried down in hand barrows, some in coffins, and others quite naked. In the vessel they were ranged in piles, and, after covering them with straw, the whole was strewed with quick lime, to stay the process of putrefaction. In this mass there were old men, women, and children of ten or twelve years of age. The crowd which occupied the quays and parapets, to contemplate the sad embarkation, seemed as if frozen with horror; their silence being from

time to time interrupted by a solitary imprecation from among the throng. Weeping mothers were there, indulging in silent grief, while others were passionately embracing their infants, as if happy to think that they were yet too young to engage in these bloody quarrels. "Legitimacy," exclaimed the eloquent M. Bernard de Rennes, at the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies—"*La légitimité etait enterrée sous ces cadavres!*"

The funeral bark was carried to the Champ de Mars, where the remains of these patriots were interred.

CHAPTER XVII.

Proclamation addressed to the troops in the name of Lafayette —Historical Sketch of the Life of General Lafayette.

As a happy issue to the revolution, or a prolongation of the horrors of civil war, depended, in a great measure, on the disposition of the troops, it was resolved, that another proclamation should be addressed to them, in the name of Lafayette, and on the part of the municipal government of Paris. It was conceived in the following terms:

"BRAVE SOLDIERS!

"The inhabitants of Paris do not make you responsible for the orders which have been given to you. Come to us; we will receive you as brethren: come and range yourselves under the command of one of those brave generals who have so often shed their blood in the de-

fence of the country. The cause of the army cannot long be separated from that of the nation and of liberty; its glory is our dearest patrimony. But the army will never forget, that the defence of our independence, and our liberties, ought to be its first duty. Let us then be friends, since our interests, and our rights, are the same. General Lafayette declares, in the name of the whole population of Paris, that no feeling of hostility is retained towards the soldiers of France: the inhabitants are ready to fraternize with all those who will return to the cause of the country and of liberty; and they long for the moment, when soldiers and citizens, united by the same sentiments, and assembled under the same banner, may at length realize the welfare, and the glorious destinies of our common country.

" *Vive la France!*

(Signed) " LE GENERAL LAFAYETTE."

The large space which this single-minded individual has filled in the revolutionary history of France, seems to call for some notice of his long, diversified, and honourable career. Marie-Paul-Jean-Roch-Yves-Gilbert-Motier, Marquis de Lafayette, was born at Chavagnac in Auvergne, on the 6th of September, 1757. The issue of an illustrious house, he received an education suited to the rank he was destined to hold in society; and when arrived at the age which called on him to enter the world, his studies were so far advanced, as to enable him to make his election between the career of letters and of arms. He chose that in which the name of his family had already been distinguished, by his celebrated ancestor

the Mareschal Lafayette, by his uncle, who was killed in Italy, and by his father, who also died gloriously, at the battle of Minden. Already also he had lost his mother, when, at the early age of sixteen, he was united in marriage to Mademoiselle de Noailles, the daughter of the Duc d'Ayen. By means of this alliance with a family at once rich and powerful, and in high credit at court, the Marquis de Lafayette might have rapidly advanced in the career of honours and dignities; but, disdaining his hereditary and adventitious advantages, he refused to avail himself of a distinction, which was not founded on personal merit.

The American colonies of Great Britain had risen in insurrection, for the purpose of resisting the right of the mother country to levy taxes from subjects who were not represented. They had created an independent government, had published a declaration of rights, and had constituted themselves into a federative republic. Success, however, had not attended their arms; they had lost the battle of Brooklyn, and had sustained many serious defeats, when Washington was invested with the dictatorship, and Franklin was sent to Paris, to ask for the assistance of Louis XVI.

The French government had not yet avowed their satisfaction at the injury which England was suffering in her dearest interests. They had re-

fused all assistance, even indirectly, to the American insurgents. It was at a moment so dangerous for Lafayette, that he tore himself from the arms of his young wife, and set out to fight in the cause of independence. He had begged the American envoy to obtain a vessel for him, to carry him to the republican army. Franklin had the generosity to try to turn him from a project, which savoured of temerity, at a moment when the insurgents were beaten at all points. Disregarding the opposition of the court, and the friendly dissuasions of Franklin, he freighted a ship at his own expense, and landed at George Town, during the summer of 1777, carrying with him important dispatches, and a supply of arms and ammunition.

At this period, the American army in New Jersey was waiting until some great movement on the part of the royalists should discover to them the plan of the British ministry. This soon became known, by the landing of General Howe, the British commander, on the coast of Maryland, and the attack which he made on Washington, in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. In this engagement the Americans were compelled to yield, and Lafayette was wounded in the leg, while endeavouring, by language and example, to rally the fugitives.

It was after the battle of Brandywine, when the cause of the confederation was almost des-

perate, that the court of Versailles resolved to recognize the independence of the United States. Lafayette was then appointed to the command of the army of the North; but being assured that his presence there could be attended with no useful result, he solicited his recall to the chief scene of operations, and resumed his place under the orders of Washington. The English troops under General Clinton having at length been driven out of Philadelphia, by the hatred of the population, and the indefatigable activity of Washington, were pursued in their retreat, and overtaken in the defiles of Freehold, near Monmouth. A great battle there took place; Washington was victorious, and Lafayette contributed to the triumph, by leading the advanced guard.

The Count d'Estaing having received orders to act against the English, an attack was to be made on Rhode Island, and the command of Sullivan's army was given to Lafayette; but the retreat of the French squadron on Boston prevented the combined operations from being carried into effect.

During the suspension of hostilities, Lafayette returned to France, to hasten the dispatch of reinforcements; and, while a corps of 6,000 men was in preparation under the command of Count Rochambeau, he proceeded to Spain, and concluded a treaty of commerce with the court of Madrid, which was soon afterwards changed into a declaration of war against England.

On his return to America he rejoined the camp of Washington, and took an active part in the operations of the war. Having been appointed to the command of the Virginian army, he received notice from Washington that the English were about to march against him with all their forces in Carolina, and he was directed to defend the frontier to the last extremity. In this critical situation, with a force which scarcely amounted to 5,000 men, without funds, without clothes, and almost without provisions, he borrowed money in his own name, and mortgaged his estates in Europe, to provide the means of carrying on the war. After a five months' struggle, the object of which was to avoid a general engagement with Lord Cornwallis, he succeeded by a train of masterly manœuvres, and some partial actions, in enclosing that General in a position from which it was impossible for him to escape. The capitulation of York Town, in October 1781, decided the fate of the war; the joy of the Americans was at its height; and the name of Lafayette was mingled in all their rejoicings.

He returned to France on board an American frigate, and again applied himself with zeal and assiduity to the despatch of fresh succours. At his entreaty a great expedition was formed at Cadiz under the command of Count d' Estaing, which he prepared to join, at the head of 8,000 men, who were to sail with him from Brest. It

was proposed to make a descent on Jamaica with an army of 24,000 men, embarked on board a French and Spanish fleet of sixty-six sail of the line. Lafayette was appointed commander-in-chief of the combined forces. From Jamaica he was to have proceeded to New York, and with 6,000 men embarked on the St. Laurence, have attempted the revolution of the Canadas. Everything was ready for the despatch of the expedition, when the treaty of peace was concluded. He was the first to communicate the intelligence to Congress, and set out himself for Madrid, to restore the political relations which had been casually interrupted.

After these important events, Lafayette paid a visit to America, where he was received with enthusiasm by a liberated people. His name was given to two counties, and to a number of fortresses; and, as if in exchange, that of George Washington was bestowed on Lafayette's eldest son. He refused a splendid offer of territorial aggrandizement, and, on his return to Europe, the frank and simple manners of the American, tempered by the early polish he had acquired in the French court, made him an object of universal attraction. He traversed the states of Germany, where he was received with distinction by Joseph II. and Frederic the Great. In conjunction with Malesherbes, he applied himself to the amelioration of the lot of two classes of sufferers,

the Protestants of France, and the negroes of the colonies. In this last undertaking he was warmly seconded by Madame Lafayette; but unhappily, six years afterwards, on the triumph of a faction in France, the slaves which he had bought at Cayenne for the purpose of emancipation, were re-sold and sent back to the thraldom from which he had rescued them.

The state of the Catholics of Ireland, the victims of the Barbary states, and an expedition against Egypt, successively occupied his attention, when the convocation of the Notables of France in 1787 and 1788, directed him to objects nearer home. In the assembly over which the Count d'Artois presided, Lafayette distinguished himself by the generous boldness with which he insisted on the suppression of state prisons, and of lettres de cachet. It was he also who proposed the convocation of the States General, or, in other words, that the people should be represented by mandatories of their own appointment. The second assembly of Notables having discovered a disposition inconsistent with the general interests of the nation, a necessity arose for the convocation of the States General. Lafayette was named a deputy, and spoke for the first time on the 8th of July 1789, in support of the celebrated motion of Mirabeau for the removal of the troops. During the violent crisis which succeeded the declaration of rights, Lafayette was named Vice-pre-

sident of the National Assembly, and occupied the chair during the two terrible nights of the 13th and 14th of July. It was then that the responsibility of ministers was decreed, and that the existence of a representative system received its first and most important guarantee.

On the 15th of July, Lafayette proceeded to Paris at the head of a deputation of fifty members of the assembly. The taking of the Bastille on the day before had left the capital in a state of violent fermentation. In the midst of this movement the idea arose, and for the moment prevailed, that the liberty which had been thus gained, could only be secured by the re-establishment of public order. This vital principle was communicated throughout a mass of at least 100,000 armed men, like a spark of electricity. Thus the National Guard was created; and when the body was yet deliberating on the choice of a leader, a bust which stood by suggested the name of Lafayette: he was at once appointed by acclamation, and under his auspices it soon acquired that consistency, regularity, and discipline, which, after so many changes, it still happily enjoys. His first order, on taking the command, was directed to the demolition of the Bastille. On the 16th of July this work was commenced, and on the 26th, Lafayette, having joined the Bourbon lily to the colours of the city of Paris, which were red and blue, pre-

sented the three-coloured cockade to the assembled electors, with the prediction, "that it would make the tour of the world."

When more serious disturbances arose, many individuals owed their lives to the courage of Lafayette, and to the power which his popularity had given him. Finding that he was not strong enough to save those of Foulon and Berthier, he resigned his command, but was afterwards persuaded to resume it. On the 5th of October, after the most dreadful commotion which had yet been witnessed, he marched with the National Guard to Versailles, where the populace of Paris had already assembled. On the 6th he succeeded in saving the lives of the royal family, and brought them in safety to the capital, where the Constituent Assembly had already established themselves.

Lafayette was too much devoted to the cause of liberty, not to have many enemies at court; but Louis XVI. was also too just to withhold from him the most striking tokens of his satisfaction. When the Queen was compelled, amidst the popular violence to appear on the balcony of the Tuileries, first surrounded by her children, and afterwards apart from them, Lafayette at the decisive moment presented himself before her, and, on his appearance, the insulting clamours of the multitude were suddenly changed into shouts of applause. He took the Queen's

hand and respectfully kissed it, as it trembled in his: the excited populace was completely disarmed. It was at once the signal and the pledge of reconciliation. During the subsequent captivity of the royal family, the Princess Elizabeth repeatedly expressed her belief that all their lives had been saved by Lafayette's interposition at Versailles, and severally reproached those around her who had blamed him as the cause of the popular insurrection.

Although the names of Mirabeau and the Duke of Orleans were both compromised in the violent proceedings of the 5th and 6th of October, they succeeded in freeing themselves from the accusation which was brought against them on the part of the municipal authorities. But Lafayette was still convinced of the culpability of the Duke of Orleans; and, at an interview which is described by M. de Segur as "trèsimperieuse d'une part, trèstimide de l'autre," he insisted on the Prince's immediately quitting the kingdom.

In spite of the opposition which he met with, and the blame which was cast upon him, Lafayette continued to serve the cause of the Revolution without departing from those principles of justice and moderation which have always distinguished his character. In the proceedings against Favras, two witnesses deposed that the accused had projected the assassination of the

Mayor, and the Commander in-chief of the National Guard; but Lafayette undertook to invalidate their testimony, and had them both convicted of conspiracy. Soon afterwards he caused a man to be released who had fired upon him in the Champ de Mars. After refusing the offices of Constable, Dictator, and Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, he had it decreed that the same individual should never command the National Guards of more than a single department—at the very moment when several millions of these Guards were demanding him for their chief.

When Louis XVI. took to flight, after he had pledged his royal word that he would not withdraw himself from the constitutional surveillance, Lafayette was exposed to serious danger in consequence of having agreed to answer with his head that the King should not leave the French territory. In this situation he was subjected to the double accusation of having connived at the King's flight, as the Jacobins pretended on the one hand, and of having him arrested, according to the aristocrats, on the other.

The decree which re-established the unfortunate monarch on his throne, on condition of his acceptance of the constitution proposed to him, was the cause of a new commotion. Crowds had collected on the Champ de Mars to sign a petition of a factious nature, but were dispersed

by Lafayette after the proclamation of martial law. On the 8th of October 1791, having caused the amnesty to be accepted which had been proposed by Louis XVI., Lafayette resigned his command, and took leave of the National Guard. As soon as he had retired, an attempt was made to bring him back by electing him Mayor of Paris in the room of Bailly; but the Jacobins were triumphant, and Petion was appointed.

It was at this period that the first emigrant coalition was formed. Lafayette was appointed to the command of one of the three armies directed to repel it. He attacked and beat the enemy at Philippeville, Maubeuge, and Florennes, and was proceeding prosperously, when his success was interrupted by the course of events at Paris. A party had been formed against him, with Dumouriez and Collot d'Herbois at its head, which soon became irresistible. He addressed a letter to the Legislative Assembly denouncing this counter-revolutionary party, and appeared at the bar to support his denunciation. He was invited to the honours of the sitting, and afterwards proceeded to the Tuileries, where he received the thanks of the King and Queen.

On the following day the King was to have reviewed four thousand of the National Guards. Lafayette asked leave to accompany him, and announced his intention of addressing himself to

the armed citizens in such terms as he thought calculated to promote the cause of good order and constitutional opinions; but Louis XVI. was as usual circumvented, and induced, during the night, to countermand the review. Lafayette despaired of effecting further good, and, after addressing a second letter to the Assembly, rejoined the army under his command.

On the 30th of June, Lafayette had the honour of being burned in effigy at the Palais Royal, and was formally accused by the Jacobins before the Assembly; but the question was resolved in his favour by a decisive majority, amidst the threats and exclamations of the galleries. On leaving the chamber, the members were assailed with sticks, stones, and sabres; and, on the following day, the Assembly declared, almost unanimously, that their deliberations were no longer free. An appeal to the army was spoken of; but, in Paris at least, even that was too late. Lafayette then conceived the idea of a Departmental Congress, but in this he was disappointed. The spirit of Jacobinism advanced so rapidly, that only a single Department consented to concur with him. Finding the struggle hopeless, he resolved on retiring to a neutral territory, taking with him only the small number of officers whose lives would be compromised by remaining; but he and his companions, to the number of twenty-two, having fallen upon a post of Austrians, they were carried

before a superior officer, and four of them, Latour-Maubourg, Lameth, Puzy, and Lafayette, were sent to Wezel as prisoners of state. From Wezel Lafayette was transferred to Magdebourg, where he was plunged for a year into a dark, damp, and subterranean dungeon. From thence he was carried successively to Glatz and Neiss, and finally to Olmutz, which became his prison when the King of Prussia made peace with France.

Indignant at the unheard-of sufferings which Lafayette was made to endure after the Austrians became his jailors, a young Hanoverian physician, Bollman, and Huger, a young American, the son of an officer of Carolina, with whom Lafayette had resided after his first voyage to America, resolved to attempt his rescue. They effected a communication with the prisoner, and attended with horses under the ramparts, at a moment when most of his guards were absent from duty. He succeeded in disarming the nearest sentinel, but not before the man, in the course of the struggle, had severely wounded him in the hand with his teeth. His generous liberators then placed him on horseback, but were so forgetful of their own safety, that the other horses had escaped. Huger was immediately taken, and sacrificed himself with heroic devotion. Lafayette and Bollman agreed to separate, the better to evade pursuit. Bollman succeeded in reaching the

Prussian territory, but was there arrested and given up to Austria. Lafayette was retaken within eight leagues of Olmutz, and from that moment was treated with increased barbarity, being left, while sick, without light, without linen, and without the means of external communication, or assistance of any kind. After sixteen months imprisonment in the dungeons of Robespierre, his virtuous and affectionate wife was at length allowed to come to him, with her daughters, to share his captivity. In the British parliament a motion was made for an address to the crown to interpose the mediation of Great Britain with the Emperor of Germany, for the purpose of obtaining the liberation of the prisoners of Olmutz; but, although supported by Fox and other parliamentary orators of distinction, it was successfully resisted by Pitt and his adherents, on the frigid footing of state policy. It was equally in vain that the government of the United States employed its intercession to terminate this iniquitous imprisonment. Austria remained inexorable, and it was not until after five years of suffering, that the chances of war procured him his deliverance.

At the period of Lafayette's proscription, Bonaparte was an inferior and unknown officer; but when the public wish, and the voice of the Directory were applied with effect to his relief, Bonaparte had risen to the supreme command of

the army of Italy. When employed in conjunction with General Clarke to negociate the treaty of peace, Bonaparte was directed to stipulate for the liberation of the prisoners at Olmutz; but it was not until after five months' negociation that this was agreed to. On obtaining their liberty, they were carried to Hamburgh; and, in compliance with a strange fancy of the Austrian court, were there delivered over, not to the French ambassador, but to the Consul of the United States.

In the course of these negociations, the 18th Fructidor had arrived; and although Talleyrand, their minister for foreign affairs, had written to Generals Bonaparte and Clarke to continue, notwithstanding the changes in the government, to urge the liberation of the prisoners, Lafayette refused to adhere to what was passing in Paris. He resolved, therefore, to remain on neutral ground, and, having mounted the three-coloured cockade, he was treated by the republican authorities, not as an emigrant, or an exile, but as a French citizen.

After some stay in Holstein, he established himself at Utrecht, where he remained until after the events of the 18th Brumaire, when, thinking that the principles of liberty were at length to be established in France, he hastened to Paris without waiting for the consent of the consular government.

On his return to France, Lafayette withdrew from public affairs, and lived in retirement in the Upper Loire. Although elected to the council-general of his department, he spoke but on one occasion, and then only to make a declaration of principles in opposition to those of the government.

Before the arrival of the period when Napoleon caused himself to be declared Consul for life, Lafayette was earnestly entreated to become a member of the senate; but he steadily resisted the application, and when asked to vote for that measure, his answer was, that he could not support a Consulate for life until he saw sufficient guarantees for the public liberty.

After the imperial throne was erected, it was an observation of Napoleon's, that all but one man in France had abandoned extreme ideas on the subject of liberty, aud that that man was Lafayette. "You see him quiet at present," said Napoleon; "but if an opportunity should arise of promoting his favourite chimera, he will reappear more ardent than ever."

At the period of the restoration in 1814, Lafayette presented himself at the Tuileries, and was well received by the King and *Monsieur;* but he had no further communication with these princes until the landing of Napoleon from Elba, when he caused it to be announced to them, that he and his friends were ready to do all in their

power to promote their cause, consistently with the principles of public liberty. When a new invasion of France was threatened by the allies, Lafayette again left his retreat to join his efforts to those who prepared to defend the territory and the independence of the country. At an interview with Joseph Bonaparte, on behalf of Napoleon, it was agreed to accept the guarantees which were then proposed, as, without believing in his complete conversion, it was thought that at least his cordial co-operation might be relied on against invasion and foreign influence; and against any external attempt that might be made, to attack the national freedom and independence. Lafayette refused the peerage, which was offered him, because it was inconsistent with his principles; but, after protesting in his commune, and in the electoral college of the Seine and Marne, against the constitution of the empire, and the *acte additionnel*, which destroyed the sovereignty of the nation, and the individual rights of the citizens, he offered himself as a candidate to the constituent body, that he might be armed with the powers of a representative, in insisting for their popular institutions, which he conceived to be indispensable; as well as in giving to the actual chief of the state the means which were necessary to defend it against foreign invasion.

These duties he fulfilled conscientiously, until

Napoleon's return to Paris, after his defeat at Waterloo. It was then feared that he would assume the dictatorship, and sacrifice the national interests to his personal views. On the 21st of June, Lafayette ascended the tribune, to prepare the means of averting the anticipated evil; but, on the following day, Napoleon sent his abdication to the Chamber.

An intrigue prevented Lafayette from becoming a member of the Provisional Government. It was his intention to have called the whole nation to arms, and not to have treated with the enemies of the country, until they had been driven from the French territory; but other and less wholesome counsel prevailed. It was also thought, that the National Guard would have chosen him as their chief; or that the choice would have been left to the Assembly. That chief would, in either case, have been the general, by whom the body had been created twenty-six years before. But the Duke of Otranto had suggested Massena, by whom France had been served at Zurich and at Genoa; and Lafayette at once declared that he was ready to serve in the capacity of aide-de-camp.

The Provisional Government, however, with a view to get rid of Lafayette, had him sent as a commissioner to the allied powers, to treat for a suspension of hostilities. His colleagues and he addressed themselves for passports to the Duke

of Wellington, and Field Marshal Blucher; but were told that they could not be granted, until the principal fortresses in Flanders, along the frontiers, including Metz and Thionville, were surrendered to the Allies.

On his return, Lafayette became acquainted with the capitulation of the capital, and the retreat of the army on the Loire. On the 6th of July he gave an account of his mission to the Assembly; but two days afterwards the Deputies found the doors of the Chamber shut against them, and in the hands of a post of Prussians. Lafayette assembled a number of the Deputies at his residence, and went with them to the house of the president Languinais, where a *procès verbal* was prepared to verify this act of violence.

After this proceeding was adopted, Lafayette retired to his property of Lagrange, where he continued to reside till proposed as a deputy in 1817, by the electoral college of Paris. On that occasion the obstacles raised by the government to the election of this champion of liberty were successful. They were again successful in opposing his return at Melun; but in 1818, in spite of all opposition, he was elected by the department of the Sarthe. Lafayette then proved himself to be what he had always been, the steady friend of a wise and rational liberty; and persevered in resisting every attempt to impair

it. In 1818 and 1819, he strenuously opposed the attempts which were made to alter the law of election. On the 17th of May in the latter year, he supported the petition which was then presented, for the restoration of the exiles. In the discussion on the war budget, on the 3rd of June, he recalled the attention of the Chamber to the organization of a civic force, the three essential conditions of which are, that the whole nation be armed—that the armed force be subordinate to the civil authority—and that the nomination of the officers be reserved to the citizens themselves. On the 10th of February, and 2nd of March 1820, he spoke with great force against the abuse of the power which was then exercised to crush the right of petition; and on the 8th of March, during the debate on the law by which individual liberty was suspended, he spoke and voted against its re-establishment. It was on this occasion that he proclaimed insurrection, under certain circumstances, to be a public duty, as in the case of the Vendeans, when deprived of their religious privileges, and of the city of Lyons, when exposed to bloodshed and massacre.

From this period he spoke regularly on every question of public importance which arose in the Chamber, and never without the happiest effect. For a year that he was representative of Meaux, and five years that he sat for the department of

the Sarthe, he never lost an opportunity of declaring that the smallest violation of the engagements undertaken by the government would have the effect of restoring to the citizens the entire independence of their rights and privileges. When thus appealing to the patriotism and the energy of the people, he has been taxed with a desire to put in practice the doctrine of insurrection against arbitrary power; but that doctrine does not exclude the principle of obedience to laws which emanate from the sovereignty of the people—a principle which Lafayette has never ceased to recognize and maintain.

In consequence of his open support of these doctrines, it has often been attempted to implicate Lafayette in some plot or conspiracy. This attempt was renewed in the proceedings against Berton; and when Madame Chauvet was arrested, the desire of treating him as a party to the accusation was not concealed. In the end, however, the minister was compelled to abandon that idea, and to content himself with calling Lafayette as a witness on the trial. The president of the court having addressed him as the Marquis de Lafayette, he refused to answer the interrogatory, declaring that since 1791 he had renounced that title; and would give no reply, unless addressed by the simple appellation of the Sieur Lafayette.

The agents of the ministry were, at length,

tired of disturbing the repose of this patriarch of the constitution; and he was living in tranquillity on his property of Lagrange, when the invitation which, on former occasions, he had been obliged to decline, that he should revisit the United States, was renewed to him on the part of the President and the Congress. He would not wait for the ship of war which was offered him, but without any suite save his son and his friend, embarked as a private individual on board the Cadmus, at Havre, for New York, on the 13th of July 1824. Between the period of his arrival and the 7th of September of the following year, when he embarked on board the Brandywine frigate to return to Europe, he was successively entertained by all the States of the Union. The Congress awarded him honours which had never been granted to Washington. A bill was passed to bestow on him a sum of 200,000 dollars, in consideration of the services he had rendered, and the sacrifices he had made, during the war of independence. By the same act a territorial grant was made to him of a portion of the national domains. It was not till four years after his return, that M. Levasseur, the friend who accompanied him, and who acted as his private secretary on the journey, published an account of Lafayette's triumphant progress through the various States of the Union—a work which has met with great success in France

and America, but which has not yet been presented to the English public.*

On his return, after an absence of fifteen months, the inhabitants of the neighbouring communes assembled to entertain him, on his passage to Lagrange, in spite of the unworthy conduct of the authorities, who attempted to curb, by means of violence, this expression of the public enthusiasm.

In June, 1827, Lafayette was returned for the third time, to the Chamber of Deputies, by the arrondissement of Meaux. In 1829, it was announced, that Charles X. was about to make a royal progress to the west of France, as he had previously done into the eastern departments; but it being feared, probably, that in that part of France there might be too open a manifestation of popular sentiments, the journey was suddenly countermanded. About that period, Lafayette was on his way to Lyons, and orders were immediately transmitted to the authorities on his route, to stifle, as much as possible, the expression of public opinion. It was intimated by the Mayor of Lyons, that serenades and popular meetings were punishable by the penal code; but the inhabitants were not to be prevented from ex-

* Lafayette en Amerique en 1824 et 1825, ou Journal d'un Voyage aux Etats-unis : par A. Levasseur, Secrétaire du Général Lafayette pendant son voyage. Deux tomes en 8vo. orné de onze gravures et d'une carte.

pressing their admiration for the character of Lafayette, by means of illuminations, entertainments, and such other manifestations of rejoicing, as did not subject them or their guest to magisterial interference.

On the 27th of July, 1830, Lafayette announced that, if required by his fellow citizens, he would not hesitate to place himself at the head of the National Guard. On the 28th, the command was offered to him, by a deputation of that body; and on the approval of his nomination by the Deputies, then assembled at the house of M. Lafitte, he immediately proceeded to the Hotel de Ville, where he fixed his head quarters. France is happily aware of the value of his name and character, his wisdom, and his long experience, in providing for the future peace and security of the country. His known singleness of purpose places him far above the suspicion of a desire for personal aggrandisement. It has been said that, during the late revolution, his power might have been perverted to the injury of public freedom; but, without stopping to repel an insinuated and gratuitous calumny, it may be doubted, whether public liberty could ever have been endangered by a man whose whole influence has arisen from a long life of unstained purity.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Historical Sketch of the Life of Louis Philip, Duke of Orleans.

THE elevated station to which the Duke of Orleans has been raised, by the events of the late revolution, has been thought also to create a requisition for some notice of his former history.

Louis Philippe d'Orleans, Duc d'Orleans, the son of Louis Philippe Joseph d'Orleans, Duc d'Orleans, was born at Paris, on the 6th October, 1773. His first title was that of Duc de Valois; but on the death of his grandfather, he assumed that of the Duc de Chartres. The first care of his infancy was given successively to the Chevalier de Bonnard, and to Madame De Genlis. Nothing was neglected in forming his heart, enlightening his mind, or even in facilitating the

developement of his physical powers. Gymnastic exercises were joined to his intellectual labours; his teachers taking for their rule the ancient maxim,

"Mens sana in corpore sano."

At the commencement of the revolution of 1789, the Duc de Chartres, then scarcely sixteen years of age, adopted the opinions of his father with all the enthusiasm of youth. Colonel-proprietor of the 14th regiment of dragoons, he did not hesitate between the choice which was left him by the decrees of the Constituent Assembly, of giving in his resignation, or of assuming the actual command of the regiment. He went into garrison at Vendôme, where, in various brilliant actions, he earned the civic crown which was decreed to him.

In 1791 he set out for Valenciennes, and was placed under the command of the celebrated General Biron. His first proofs of bravery and military talent were given at the battles of Boussu and Quaragnon; and he succeeded in rallying the troops which had been suddenly seized with a panic in the neighbourhood of Quiévrain. On the 7th of May in the same year, the Duc de Chartres received from the Count de Grave, then minister at war, his commission as Major-General. He fought at the head of a brigade of dragoons under the com-

mand of Luckner, and assisted in the taking of Courtray. On the 11th of September following, he obtained the rank of Lieutenant-General, and was appointed to the command of Strasbourg. "I am too young," he replied, "to be enclosed in a fortress; and I beg to be allowed to remain in active service." The ministry applauded the warlike disposition thus evinced, and on the 20th of the same month the Duc de Chartres again distinguished himself, by the intrepidity with which, throughout the day, he defended a difficult position on which the enemy was constantly directing his efforts. Six days afterwards he was appointed second in command of the troops of the new levy under General Labourdonnaye, by whom they had been organized in the northern departments. This promotion was not agreeable to him; he liked better to fight in the front of the battle, although in a less elevated situation; and as it had been found necessary to replace him in the army of Luckner, he passed into that of Dumouriez, who was preparing for the invasion of Belgium. It was then that his name was to be inscribed in indelible characters in the military annals of France. On the 6th of November, at the celebrated battle of Jemappes, he preserved the army from a serious disaster, and suddenly changed a shameful flight into a complete triumph, by bringing back several fugitive regiments, and with them

renewing the column, afterwards known by the name of the *battalion de Mons*. This brilliant day decided the fate of Belgium; and the army having taking up its cantonments, the Duc de Chartres, in compliance with a letter from his father, hastened to Paris, where his sister, who had been regarded as an emigrant in consequence of her journey to England, was waiting his arrival to go into exile, in conformity with the orders of the republican government. In the performance of this fraternal duty he remained with the princess at Tournay for several days, and it was there that he was made acquainted with the decree of banishment which the Convention had pronounced against all the members of the royal family, without exception. His first resolution was to proceed to America, and he hastened to state it to his father. But the decree having been revoked, in so far as it applied to the house of Orleans, the Duc de Chartres resumed his place on the field of honour, and reaped fresh laurels at the siege of Maëstricht, under the command of General Miranda.

On the 18th of March 1793, the Duke commanded the centre of the French army at the battle of Nerwinde. Amidst the general disorder of the flight, he effected his retreat in good order, and by the bold countenance he assumed at Tirlemont, prevented this great reverse from

being still more disastrous than it proved to the French arms.

It was then that Dumouriez, ashamed of being beaten, and preferring, as it is believed, to be thought a traitor to the Convention, rather than an incapable commander, conceived the idea of giving to his defeat the show of connivance with the conquerors. He declared himself against the sovereign Assembly by which France was then governed, and entertained the object, it is said, of dissolving the national representation, abolishing the republican form of government, and re-establishing the constitutional monarchy, on the basis of that of 1791, in favour of the Duc de Chartres.

Whether the prince was acquainted or not with the real designs of Dumouriez, it is at least certain, that, when in this predicament, he connected his fate with that of his military chief. To this, perhaps, he was in some degree compelled by the community of interest which the Convention endeavoured to establish between them, and by the contumely which had been heaped on a name, brought forward by the accusers of Dumouriez in every detail of their grievances. The prince proceeded to the head-quarters of the Austrians, to ask for passports. It was in vain that Prince Charles used every means of entreaty to attach the Duke de Chartres to the

service of the Emperor. Still a Frenchman in principle, although no longer allowed to fight in the service of France, he refused to sully the glory he had acquired in the defence of his country, by becoming the auxiliary of her enemies. He retired into Switzerland with Mademoiselle d'Orleans, his sister, and Madame de Genlis, but could not there find an asylum. The Helvetic aristocracy thought that its existence would be endangered by the presence of a republican General, whose high birth had not preserved him from the contagion of constitutional principles. The influence of General Montesquieu, then living in retirement at Bremgarten, could only obtain an asylum for the Princess and her governess in the convent of Sainte Claire. "And as for you," he said to the Duke de Chartres, "there is no choice but to wander among the mountains, and to fix yourself in no permanent abode until the course of events shall assume a more favourable aspect. Should fortune prove propitious, this will be to you a sort of Odyssey, the details of which will hereafter be collected with avidity."

The Duke de Chartres pursued the advice of General Montesquieu, and, parting with the companions of his exile, he traversed on foot the various cantons of Switzerland, explored the highest ridges of the Alps, and although reduced to very limited pecuniary resources, he made these laborious journeys subservient to his in-

struction, at the same time that he found in them the source of numerous enjoyments, with which till then he was unacquainted. In the midst of his journeyings he received a letter from General Montesquieu, proposing to him a professorship in the college of Reicheneau. This offer he accepted, and obtained the appointment, after undergoing a preliminary examination. In this academy he continued for eight months, under a borrowed name, and without being recognized, to teach geography and history, the French and English languages, and the mathematics.

It was at the college of Reicheneau that the Duke de Chartres was apprised of the death of his father. Soon after this tragical event, he resigned his professional functions, and, after paying a visit to General Montesquieu at Bremgarten, he resolved on going to Hamburgh, there to embark for America. On his arrival at Hamburgh, he was compelled by the slenderness of his pecuniary resources to abandon the idea of crossing the Atlantic, and to direct his steps towards the northern countries of Europe. He visited successively Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Lapland, and, after approaching five degrees nearer to the pole than Maupertuis, or any former French traveller had done, he returned into Germany in the course of the year 1796.

He was in the duchy of Holstein when he received a letter from his mother through the

medium of the chargé d'affaires of the French republic to the Hanseatic towns. His mother informed him that the Directory would not consent to alleviate the rigours to which she and her family were subjected, as long as her eldest son remained on European ground, and she begged of him in consequence to give this new proof of his devotion to all that was dearest to him on earth. The Duke of Orleans hastened to reply: "When my dear mother receives this letter, her orders will have been obeyed, and I shall have set out for America. I shall embark in the first vessel which sails for the United States. And what would I not do, after the letter I have just received? I shall no longer believe that happiness is lost to me beyond resource, since I have still the means of softening the hardships of a mother so justly dear to me, whose situation and whose sufferings have so long torn my heart. I think myself in a dream when I am told that I am so soon to embrace and be united to my brothers; for I can scarcely yet believe what but yesterday appeared impossible. It is not, however, that I would complain of my destiny. I feel too well how much more dreadful it might have been. I shall not even think myself unhappy, if, after meeting my brothers, I shall find that my dear mother is as well as she might be; and if I may still serve my country by contributing to its tranquillity, and consequently to its

happiness. There is no sacrifice which would be too costly for the sake of France ; and as long as I live, there is none which I shall not be ready to make for her."

The Duke of Orleans left Hamburgh on the 24th of September 1796, and arrived at Philadelphia on the 21st of October following. His two brothers, the Dukes de Montpensier and de Beaujolais, joined him there, in the month of February 1797. They visited together the various states of the American Union, and even some of the Indian tribes. In the month of December 1797, they set out for New Orleans, by the Ohio and Mississippi, and arrived there in the month of February 1798. On passing over to the Havannah, they found themselves exposed to the persecutions of the Spanish government, by whom they were ordered to be carried back to New Orleans. But the three young Princes refused to return, and succeeded in reaching the English West India settlements. The Duke of Kent received them there with distinction; but his royal highness did not think himself at liberty to provide them with the means of returning to Europe.

They then embarked for New York, from whence they sailed in an English packet for Falmouth. On their arrival in London at the beginning of the year 1800, they joined the members of the royal family then in exile in England,

whose political principles they had never adopted, but with whom they found themselves connected by community of misfortune. The Duke of Orleans there saw the Count d'Artois, who had then, after the death of Louis XVII. assumed the title of Monsieur, and addressed himself by letter to Louis XVIII., whose wandering, and almost deserted court, was at that period stationed at Miltau. This reconciliation having been effected, he set sail for Minorca, for the purpose of joining his mother, who had taken refuge at Barcelona. Having landed at Mahon, it was proposed to him to go into Germany, to serve the cause of the emigrants. This he refused to do, for the same reasons which induced him, in 1794, to submit to persecution, and go into exile, rather than carry arms against France: for although his personal misfortunes in the course of the revolution, and the terrible vicissitudes of that stormy period, had brought about a reconciliation with the elder branch of his family, these considerations were not sufficiently powerful to eradicate the sentiments of his youth.

The state of warfare which then existed between England and Spain, prevented him from landing in Catalonia; so that he and his brothers were compelled to return to London, without effecting the object they had in view. They

fixed themselves at Twickenham, where they lived in retirement, enjoying the respect and esteem of the neighbourhood: but their domestic happiness was painfully disturbed in 1807, by the illness of the Duke de Montpensier, who fell an early victim to pulmonary consumption. The grief which the Duke of Orleans experienced, under this distressing bereavement, was greatly increased by the fear that the germs of the same disease were already implanted in the constitution of his younger brother. By the advice of his medical attendants, he carried the Duke de Beaujolais to Malta; but, on his arrival in that island, the physicians there assured him that the climate was unfavourable to consumptive patients. He then thought of Mount Etna, and immediately wrote to the King of Sicily for permission to enter his territories. Before the arrival of that prince's answer, the Duke de Beaujolais had expired; and it was at Messina that the Duke of Orleans received it, having quitted Malta precipitately, as soon as his brother had breathed his last. Ferdinand IV. having invited him to come to his court, he proceeded to Palermo, where he soon conciliated the affections of the King and Queen. On observing the sentiments which their daughter, the Princess Amelia, had inspired in the breast of their guest, they did not object to cement the attachment by

marriage; but, before accomplishing the union, the King of Sicily expressed a wish that the Duke of Orleans should go with his son Leopold into Spain, to defend the cause of the Bourbons against the family of Bonaparte. In that family, the Duke of Orleans saw only the oppressors of Europe, and especially of France; and he believed that he was serving the cause of his country, in going to oppose the conquests of Napoleon. He yielded, therefore, to the wish of the King of Sicily, and set sail for a Spanish port, but was carried by a British cruizer to England.

The Duke of Orleans then applied to the British government for permission to rejoin his mother at Figuiera; and, with his sister, who had come to meet him at Portsmouth, set sail for Malta, where he landed at the commencement of 1809. After many unsuccessful efforts to reach the Duchess of Orleans, he returned to the court of Palermo, where his marriage was decided. Anxious that his mother should be present at the marriage ceremony, he solicited and at once obtained permission to proceed to Mahon, in order to induce the Princess to return with him into Sicily. Having effected this object, his nuptials with the Princess Amelia were solemnly celebrated on the 25th of November, 1809.

About a year afterwards, an envoy from the

regency of Cadiz came to offer him a command in Catalonia. Believing it still to be his duty to accept it, he set sail, and landed at Tarragona, but was prevented, it is said, by English influence, from either penetrating into the interior, or proceeding towards Cadiz. Compelled to return to the court of Palermo, in the month of October following, he there became a father, by the birth of the Duke de Chartres. During his stay in Sicily, he steadily resisted the impatience of the Queen to attempt the recovery of the kingdom of Naples; and having held himself apart from the internal broils between the parliament and the ministry, he hastened, in 1814, to avail himself of the revolution which had taken place in France, to revisit his native country. On the 17th of May he presented himself at the Tuileries in the uniform of a lieutenant-general of France, and, in the month of July following, he took his leave of the King to go to Palermo for the Princess. His absence was short: before the end of August he had re-entered the Palais Royal, and was there enjoying the most perfect domestic happiness, when a new political storm arose to disturb the reigning dynasty.

On the 1st of March, 1815, Napoleon landed at Cannes from the island of Elba, and marched upon Paris. The Duke of Orleans was sent to meet him; but had scarcely arrived at Lyons, when, finding resistance impossible, he was obliged to

return to the capital. On reaching Paris, his first care was to send off his family to England. On the 16th of March he appeared beside the King at the royal sitting of the Chambers, and in the evening of the same day he set out to assume the supreme command of the army of the north, then under the orders of Marshal Mortier. He traversed the frontier, visited Peronne, and the principal fortresses, recommending everywhere that private opinions should yield to the exigencies of the country, that the horrors of civil war might be avoided, and that under no pretext should foreign troops be admitted into the places of strength.

The arrival of Louis XVIII. at Lille having apprised him of the complete success which had attended this bold exploit of Napoleon, and the King having reached the territory of Belgium without the communication of any order to the Duke, he found himself again obliged to leave the country. On the eve of his departure, he addressed the following letter, dated the 24th of March, to the Duke de Trevise:

"I am about, my dear Marshal, to resign into your hands the entire command which I have enjoyed with you in the Department Du Nord. I am too good a Frenchman to sacrifice the interests of my country because new dangers compel me to leave it. I go to bury myself in retirement. The King having left France, I can no longer give you

orders in his name; and it only remains for me to relieve you from the observance of all those I have hitherto given you, and to recommend to you to do whatever your patriotism and your excellent judgment may suggest to you as most conducive to the interests of France. Adieu, my dear Marshal; my heart beats as I write the word. Retain your friendship for me wherever fortune may lead you, and reckon always on mine. I shall never forget what I have seen of you during the too short period we have passed together."

If credit be due to what is stated by M. Fleury de Chaboulon in his Memoirs of the Hundred Days, the Duke of Orleans did not confine the expression of his regret in leaving France to the sentiments contained in his letter to the Maréchal Mortier. To his aide-de-camp, Colonel Athalin, he stated that he dispensed with his passing the frontier, and accompanying him in his exile; and that he would think himself happy to remain on the territory of France, and resume the glorious emblems which he wore at Jemappes.

Twickenham, however, after so many vicissitudes, became again the place of his retreat. While residing there, certain protestations and professions of faith, unworthy of his character, were ascribed to him in the English newspapers, the truth of which he hastened to disavow.

The battle of Waterloo having replaced the Bourbons on the throne, the Duke of Orleans left England, and arrived in Paris at the end of July. He procured the removal of the sequestration which the imperial government had imposed on his property, and recrossed the channel to bring back his wife and children.

On his return he availed himself of the royal ordinance, which authorized the princes of the blood to sit in the Chamber of Peers, and declared himself energetically against the tendency to reaction which the majority of the Chamber wished to impress on the ministry, by claiming the purgation of the public offices, and the punishment of political delinquencies:—"Let us leave it to the King," exclaimed the Duke of Orleans, "to take the necessary constitutional measures for the maintenance of public order; and let us not make demands which might be converted, by a spirit of malevolence, into the means of disturbing the tranquillity of the state. The judicial functions we may be called on to perform impose on us an absolute silence with regard to the parties who may thus be brought before us. The anterior expression of our opinion would infer a prejudication of their case, and would subject us to the anomaly of being, at once, their accusers and their judges."

The views which he thus expressed, although supported by the ministry, were not agreeable to

the party who then assumed the ascendancy. The Duke of Orleans determined, in consequence, on returning to England, where he remained until after the ordinance of the 5th of September.

Since that period he has lived constantly either at Paris, or on his estates. Men of all parties, without reference to their political opinions, have been honoured with the Prince's friendship; and his house has been frequently the asylum of the victims of power. He has given the grandees of the kingdom a salutary example, in preferring a public education for his children to the claustral and exclusive system of the palace. On one occasion, however, it must not be concealed that there was some inconsistency between his conduct and his principles, in the course of the proceedings which arose between him and the purchaser of certain property which he had lost at the revolution. It was generally believed that he had been induced by perfidious counsels to challenge, in one instance, the sale which had been effected of the national domains, for the purpose of depriving him of the great popularity he deservedly enjoyed. But the hopes of his enemies were happily defeated by an arrangement of the difference, on generous and honourable principles.

On every change of administration, and on the approach of every new political crisis, the

name of the Duke of Orleans had been employed as a rallying point among the discontented of the higher classes. But it may be said of him, as was formerly observed of his father, that he has never been himself of his own party. It was for demonstrating this truth, in a spirited and argumentative pamphlet, that M. Cauchois Lemaire, under the Villèle administration, was subjected to fifteen months imprisonment.

Since that period the name of the Duke of Orleans has not been introduced into any political discussion. Living in tranquillity and retirement, he has devoted his whole attention to the improvement of his extensive property, for the purpose of securing a more brilliant inheritance to his numerous family.

At the opening of the parliamentary session in 1829, it was remarked that the King had allowed his crown to fall, and that the Duke of Orleans, who stood at his left, stooped down to pick it up.—The visit of his brother-in-law, the King of Naples, to Paris, was for some days a source of public attraction. The Duke of Orleans entertained their Neapolitan majesties with a magnificent fête, to which all the most brilliant society of the capital gave their presence. An expression, which is said to have fallen from M. de Salvandy, on that occasion, may now be regarded as a sort of presage of what has since occurred. On being challenged

to admire the brilliant illuminations of the Palais Royal, and all the splendour of the spectacle, by some one who made the observation that it was quite "a Neapolitan entertainment:" "No doubt," replied M. de Salvandy; "*we are here on the brink of* A VOLCANO."

CHAPTER XIX.

Decree of the Provisional Government—Invitation to the Duke of Orleans to become Lieutenant-General of the kingdom—Proclamation in the Moniteur, notifying his acceptance thereof—Explanatory details—Proclamation by those of the Deputies who had met in Paris—Reception of the Duke of Orleans at the Hotel de Ville—Singular speech on that occasion by General Dubourg—Account of the conduct and merits of that individual—Proclamations for the resumption of the National Banner, for the discipline of the National Guard, and for the collection of the Local Tax on Provisions—General Lafayette's address, to announce the opening of the Chamber of Deputies.

Salus populi suprema lex, was the principle recognized and adopted by France, in first calling the Duke of Orleans to the temporary office of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, and in afterwards placing him at the head of a constitutional monarchy. The first of these measures was called for by the members of the Provisional Government themselves, who soon found that they wanted that unity of purpose indispensable to the efficient exercise of the executive power. This became at once apparent, when the necessity

arose for a government in itself so transitory and ephemeral, to proceed to the nomination of Provisional Commissioners to fulfil the urgent duties of the ministry in all its various departments. More than one version of the decree which this urgency created, was put into circulation at this period; but the following has been duly authenticated:

"It has been necessary to designate for each branch of the public administration, commissioners to replace, provisionally, the administration which has just fallen with the power of Charles X.

"The following are appointed Provisional Commissioners:—

"For the Department of Justice, M. Dupont de l'Eure.

"Finance, Baron Louis.

"War, General Gerard.

"Marine, M. de Rigny.

"Foreign Affairs, M. Bignon.

"Public Instruction, M. Guizot.

"Interior, and Public Works, Duc de Broglie.

(Signed) "Lobau. A. De Puyraveau.
"Mauguin. De Schonen.

"*Paris, Hotel de Ville, July* 31."

Before this measure was adopted, the assembled Deputies had resolved on requesting the Duke of Orleans to come to Paris, to discharge the duties of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. With this view M. Mechin, fils, had been sent to the Prince's residence at Neuilly, about two leagues distant from Paris, on the evening of Thursday the 29th of July. It is said that on

that day also a detachment of the Royal Guard had been sent across the river with orders to carry the Prince as a prisoner to Saint Cloud. The hostile and the friendly mission were both unsuccessful. The Prince was from home on Thursday; but early on Friday morning he proceeded to the Palais Royal, as some say, on foot; but at this period was so little aware of the important nature of M. Mechin's mission, that he had again left Paris for Neuilly before the arrival of the Deputies, who came in a body to wait upon him. An interview at length took place, on the morning of Saturday the 31st of July. On being made acquainted with the resolution of the Deputies, the Prince required only an hour's delay, to afford him an opportunity of again consulting his council, and soon afterwards his acceptance was announced by the appearance of an extraordinary supplement to the Moniteur, which contained a proclamation, conceived in the following terms:

"*Paris, July* 31, *noon.*

"INHABITANTS OF PARIS!

"The Deputies of France at this moment assembled at Paris have expressed to me the desire that I should repair to this capital to exercise the functions of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

"I have not hesitated to come and share your dangers, to place myself in the midst of your heroic population, and to exert all my efforts to preserve you from the calamities of civil war and anarchy.

"On returning to the city of Paris, I wear with pride those glorious colours which you have resumed, and which I myself long wore.

" The Chambers are going to assemble; they will consider of the means of securing the reign of the laws, and the maintenance of the rights of the nation.

" The charter will henceforward be a reality.

" LOUIS-PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS."

Some light is incidentally thrown on the history of this nomination by the answer of the elder Dupin to the attacks which were made on him in some of the public journals, accusing him of something like double dealing in his manner of treating the individuals who had been the first to stir during the early days of the revolution. After giving a detailed and interesting narrative of all his personal movements from an early hour on Monday morning, when he was consulted by the journalists as to the legality of their resistance to the royal ordinances, up to Friday the 30th, he thus proceeds :—

" The question as to the Duke of Orleans was now openly agitated, and it was not for a member of his council to institute a commencement. So far from that, it is greatly to the Prince's credit, that nothing was suggested on his part. The nation found him when it called; but neither he, nor any one belonging to him, conspired to provoke the call : he answered only to the national wish; he took the helm when every one else had quitted it; and who can doubt, amidst the enthusiasm excited by this Prince's accession, that I had a right to count myself among those who were most highly satisfied, and who founded on it the surest

hopes for the welfare of the country? During twelve years of constant service, I have had the means of convincing myself how deeply the love of the country is imprinted in the heart of this admirable family. On the 30th, at one o'clock, I went to the Chamber of Deputies, after returning from Neuilly, whither I had gone on foot with my friend M. Persil. I should have regretted not to have accomplished this honourable mission—I ought to say this duty. In the secret committee of the Chamber, I expressed my opinion that, the same evening before we broke up, the question as to the form of government should be decided. The Lieutenant-General was then appointed. On the 31st, at six o'clock in the morning, having been sent for to the Palais Royal, I had the honour of giving my cockade to the King, in exchange for the three ribbons which had been attached to his button-hole by his noble sister, at the moment of his departure for Paris; they were my first and my finest decoration.

" The Municipal Commission was acquainted with all these facts when it did me the honour, unknown to me, and without solicitation on my part, to name me Provisional Commissioner in the department of justice. Why did not my enemies then raise their voice? I did not think it my duty to accept that nomination; and my honourable colleague, M. Dupont de l'Eure, has

not forgotten the earnestness with which I urged him to accept an office that his modesty alone had induced him to refuse."

Soon after the appearance of the Lieutenant-General's proclamation, the following was prepared by the representatives of the people.

"PROCLAMATION

ADDRESSED TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE BY THE DEPUTIES OF DEPARTMENTS ASSEMBLED AT PARIS.

"FRENCHMEN!—France is free. Absolute power raised its standard—the heroic population of Paris has overthrown it. Paris, attacked, has made the sacred cause triumph, by means which had triumphed in vain in the elections. A power which usurped our rights and disturbed our repose, threatened at once both liberty and order. We return to the possession of order and liberty. There is no more fear for acquired rights—no further barrier between us and the rights which we still require. A government which may, without delay, secure to us these advantages, is now the first want of our country. Frenchmen! those of your Deputies who are already at Paris have assembled, and, till the Chambers can regularly intervene, they have invited a Frenchman who has never fought but for France—the Duke of Orleans—to exercise the functions of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. This is, in their opinion, the surest means promptly to accomplish, by peace, the success of the most legitimate defence.

"The Duke of Orleans is devoted to the national and constitutional cause. He has always defended its interests, and professed its principles. He will respect our rights, for he will derive his own from us. We shall secure to ourselves, by laws, all the guarantees necessary to strong and durable liberty:—

" The re-establishment of the National Guard, with the intervention of the National Guards in the choice of the officers:

" The intervention of the citizens in the formation of the departmental and municipal administrations:

" The jury for the transgressions of the press; the legally organized responsibility of the ministers, and of the secondary agents of the administration:

" The situation and rank of the military legally secured. And

" The re-election of Deputies in the place of those appointed to public offices. Such guarantees will, at length, give to our institutions, in concert with the head of the state, the developments of which they have need.

" Frenchmen!—The Duke of Orleans himself has already spoken, and his language is that which is suitable to a free country.

" 'The Chambers,' he says, 'are going to assemble; they will consider of means to insure the reign of the laws, and the maintenance of the rights of the nation.

" 'The charter will henceforward be a reality.'"

Before the publication of this address, the Deputies proceeded with it to the Palais Royal, escorted by the National Guard, and by the band of veterans who have been accustomed to act as a guard of honour at the chamber. On their arrival at the palace, the proclamation was read to the Duke by M. Lafitte, one of the vice-presidents, in the absence of the president, M. Casimir Perier, from indisposition. At its conclusion the Prince asked for a copy of it, and declared that it would be the most valuable document in his archives. " I am deeply sen-

sible," he continued, "of this high testimony of your confidence and esteem, although I must ever deplore the painful circumstances out of which it has arisen. As a Frenchman I have felt the wrongs by which France has been oppressed—as a Prince, I rejoice in the hope of being able to contribute to the reparation of the mischief which has been done."

The Duke, in the uniform of a general officer, and wearing the cordon of the Legion of Honour, then mounted his horse, and, surrounded by the Deputies, passed along the quays to the Hotel de Ville. Count Alexandre de Laborde had gone before to announce his approach. The members of the Municipal Commission, with Lafayette at their head, assembled in the great hall of the building, accompanied by a detachment of the National Guards, and the pupils of the Polytechnic School, and descended to receive the Prince at the foot of the staircase. The Duke and Lafayette embraced each other, and the united procession ascended to the great hall. On perceiving the pupils of the Polytechnic School, the Duke advanced towards them, and expressed to them his admiration of their noble conduct. The proclamation of the Deputies was then read by M. Viennet, and the Duke renewed his declaration of his entire and unqualified concurrence in the principles it expressed. After several individuals had taken this occasion

to address the Prince, General Dubourg, an officer who had made himself conspicuous on more than one occasion in the course of the revolutionary movement, stepped forward and said:—"We hope you will keep your oaths; should you do otherwise, you know the consequences. The nation has achieved its liberty at the price of its blood, and it well knows how to re-achieve it, if the odious example of the fallen monarch shall be followed; and if bad men shall attempt to rob them of it." To this extraordinary address the Prince replied with warmth and dignity:—"General, if you were better acquainted with me, you would know that threats are not necessary to insure my fidelity. I am a Frenchman, and a man of honour. The future will prove that I know how to keep my engagements." The General was now, perhaps, aware that he had advanced a step too far, and as soon as the Prince had concluded, he was the first to exclaim, "*Vive le Duc d'Orleans!*" a cry which was instantly repeated, first by the audience in the hall, and afterwards by the numerous throng assembled on the outside. When the murmurs excited by this incident had subsided, the Prince walked out on the balcony, where he again embraced Lafayette, and, seizing the national flag, waved it over his head, in presence of the multitude.

He was then reconducted to the foot of the great staircase, where, amidst the acclamations of the people, he was saluted by discharges of musketry, and by two pieces of artillery, which had been stationed on the Place de Grève. The Prince was carried, rather than conducted, back to the Palais Royal, and the Municipal Commission resumed its functions, at the Hotel de Ville.

In justice to all parties, it is necessary to state, that whatever may have been the views of General Dubourg, he was certainly one of the first, if not the very first individual, with the rank of a general officer, who took up arms in the popular cause. As early as Wednesday evening, the 28th of July, he had appeared at the Bourse, in company with M. Evariste Dumoulin, and proceeded, as he then was, in plain clothes, with a number of other citizens, to the scene of action. On the following morning, he again appeared at the successive attacks on the Louvre and the Tuileries, in the uniform of a lieutenant-general, a circumstance with which he has been reproached, as an act of presumption; his rank in the army having never been higher than that of *maréchal du camp*. But for this he had some excuse in the hurry and confusion of the moment. It is more difficult to explain the proclamation with which the walls of Paris were

covered, in the course of Thursday. It was as follows:

"FELLOW CITIZENS!

"You have chosen me, by universal acclamation, to be your general. I will be worthy of the choice of the noble National Guard of Paris. We fight for our laws and liberties. Fellow citizens! our triumph is certain.

"I entreat you to respect the orders of the chiefs who are to be assigned to you, and to obey them.

"The troops of the Line have already surrendered; and the Guards are ready to follow their example. The traitors who excited this civil war, and who thought to massacre the people with impunity, will soon be compelled to account before the tribunals for their violation of the laws, and for the whole of their bloody conspiracy.

"From the head-quarters on the Place de la Bourse, which is the general rendezvous, this 29th of July, 1830.

(Signed) "LE GENERAL DUBOURG."

In this proceeding also, it is probable that General Dubourg was already aware that he had overshot the mark; as may be inferred, from the following letter, which he soon afterwards addressed to General Lafayette:

"MON. GÉNÉRAL,

"I resign into your hands the command with which the citizens invested me by universal acclamation; and I give you my word, that from this instant I shall not only give no order, but that I shall not again wear the uniform which

was brought me by the citizens. I thought, and I persist in thinking, my conduct worthy of a national reward; for if I, an obscure individual, was raised to the command by the spontaneous acclamation of the citizens, because the brave fellows saw me in the front rank wherever there was danger, it is certain, that if they had seen another more forward, they would have given it to him. From whence then can these injurious suspicions proceed, if not from a sentiment of jealousy? I went to Ghent, it is true; but if I had been at Fontainebleau, when Napoleon was deserted there, I for one should not have deserted him. I showed sufficiently my contempt for cowards and traitors, when, in 1815, I had the command of the department of the Pas de Calais, and General Bourmont was governor of the division. I refused to see him, and quitted my command, that I might have no communication with the traitor. This example has not, as far as I am aware, been very generally imitated. I might long ago have been lieutenant-general, if I had chosen to follow the court.

"I am no courtier, and never shall be so. I resign the command with which I was invested by acclamation; a sort of appointment which I prefer to the marshal's baton which has been given to Bourmont. If I am not treated by the government as I think that I deserve, I am sure, at least, of the friendship and esteem of all the

brave citizens at whose head I had the honour and the happiness to march, to the destruction of a power, which had made itself hateful to every generous heart.

" Accept, General, the assurance of my utmost respect.

(Signed) " DUBOURG."

" 1*st August*, 1830."

The answer of General Lafayette was to the following effect:

"I send you, General, the extract of an order of the day, which I have just published. It will be with pleasure that I shall see those services rewarded as to which I do you this act of justice; and to which, be assured, that I shall myself be ready to contribute.

" *Hotel de Ville, 8th August*, 1830.

" ORDER OF THE DAY.

" The General commanding in chief owes to General Dubourg the justice to say, that in the moment of danger he answered with devotedness the appeal of a number of good patriots; that in these memorable days he gave orders in conformity with the generous enthusiasm of the people, and with the maintenance of public order; and that I found him established at the Hotel de Ville, where he expressed to me the pleasure he had in seeing me brought thither by the confidence of my fellow citizens.

(Signed) " LAFAYETTE."

The first act of authority performed by the Duke of Orleans after his acceptance of the office of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, was to announce the resumption of the national banner, and to signify his approbation of the ministry provisionally appointed by the members of the Municipal Commission. Both of these objects were accomplished by the following proclamation :—

"LIEUTENANCY OF THE KINGDOM.

"Article 1st. The French nation resumes her colours. No other cockade shall henceforth be worn but the three-coloured one.

"Article 2nd. The commissioners charged provisionally with the various departments of the ministry, shall each, in what concerns him, watch over the execution of the present ordinance.

(Signed) "LOUIS PHILIPPE D'ORLEANS."

"*Paris, 1st August*, 1830."

"The commissioner charged provisionally with the ministry of the war department,

(Signed) "COUNT GERARD."

Measures were also immediately taken for placing the National Guard in a respectable state of defence, as well as for providing the means of subsistence for such of the working classes as had been thrown out of employment by the events of the revolution. These objects were provided for by the two orders which follow.

"MUNICIPAL COMMISSION OF PARIS.

"General Lafayette and the Municipal Commission of Paris have resolved,

"1st. That there shall be formed a moveable National Guard, to consist of twenty regiments, and to be employed beyond the walls of Paris for the defence of the country.

"2nd. Every citizen fit to carry arms is invited to enrol himself, and for this purpose to appear at his *Mairie*, where the necessary lists will be opened.

"3rd. The moveable National Guard shall receive pay, the rate of which shall hereafter be fixed for the officers and non-commissioned officers; for the soldiers it shall be thirty sous a day. The pay shall continue till the regiments are disbanded, and for fifteen days afterwards: they shall be disbanded as soon as the force shall be no longer necessary.

"4th. The moveable National Guard is placed under the orders of General Gerard, who has already the command of the troops of the Line; he will do all that is necessary for its formation and organization, and to this effect will appoint such a number of officers as he shall judge requisite. The lists at the Mairies and the Bureau of the National Guard, at the Hotel de Ville, are placed at his disposal.

(Signed) "LAFAYETTE.

"The members of the commission,

"LOBAU: AUDRY DE PUYRAVEAU:
"MAUGUIN: DE SCHONEN.

"One of the Secretaries of the Commission,

"AYLIES."

"*Hotel de Ville, 31st July* 1830."

"NATIONAL GUARD OF PARIS.

"ORDER OF SERVICE.

"The General commanding in chief requests the chiefs of legions to take all necessary measures for the maintenance of public tranquillity. To this effect they will appoint numerous patrols, and reinforce the posts which are not sufficient for the service. They are each directed to send a non-commissioned officer and a party of privates to the Hotel de Ville, to receive a supply of ammunition. They will attend as soon as possible to the designation of the posts, and to the state of the men who compose them.

"The chiefs of legions who have barriers in their command, will immediately double the posts at the principal barriers, and will direct their several officers to take all necessary measures for ensuring the receipt of the duties."

It is known that at the barriers of Paris a tax of considerable amount is levied on the import of *vivres* (provisions) of all kinds, which cannot fail at all times to press severely on the lower classes of society. On meat this local burthen amounts to three sous a pound, and on wine, without distinction as to quality, it is at the rate of five sous a bottle. It deserves to be stated to the credit of the inhabitants, that although this tax is naturally regarded as an odious burthen, particularly by those who live in the neighbourhood of the barriers; yet, in place of conspiring

to evade it during the days of commotion, the places of the collecting officers were voluntarily supplied by the respectable householders of the neighbourhood; and in point of fact, the amount of duty which was levied during the week of the revolution, in place of falling below the average, was considerably above it. The zeal of the inhabitants was, no doubt, stimulated by the following intimation:—

"MINISTRY OF FINANCE.

"To the Citizens,

"The Provisional Commissioner in the department of Finance requests all the authorities to protect the collection of the taxes legally established.

"The citizens, by the punctual payment of these taxes, will evince their readiness to assist the government during the present emergency.

(Signed) "Le Baron Louis."

The opening of the Chamber was announced in the following address of General Lafayette:

"TO THE CITIZENS OF PARIS.

"*Paris, 31st July*, 1830.

"The deputies now assembled in Paris have communicated to the General in Chief the resolution, by which, from the urgency of existing circumstances, the Duke of Orleans has been appointed Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. In three days, the Deputies will be in regular session, conformably to the mandate of their constituents; and will have applied themselves to their

patriotic duties, rendered still more important and extensive by the glorious event which has restored the French people to the plenitude of their imprescriptible rights. Honour to the population of Paris!

"It will be then that the representatives of the Electoral Colleges, with the concurrence of the whole kingdom, will assure to the country all the guarantees of liberty, equality, and public order, which are called for by the sovereign nature of our rights, and the firm determination of the French people.

"Under a government which was foreign to us alike in its origin and its influence, it was already understood that the demand for the re-establishment of elective, communal, and departmental administrations, the formation of the National Guards of France on the basis of the law of 1791, the extension of trial by jury, the questions on the subject of the law of elections, the freedom of education, the responsibility of the agents of power, and the mode by which that responsibility was to be realized, were each to become the subject of legislative discussion before the vote of any pecuniary supplies. How much more necessary is it that these guarantees, and all others which liberty and equality may require, should precede the concession of the definite powers which France may judge it right to confer! In the mean time it is known that the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, appointed by the Chamber, was one of the young patriots of 1789, and one of the first generals who caused the three-coloured flag to triumph.

"Liberty, equality, and public order, have always been my motto: I shall continue faithful to it.

(Signed) "LAFAYETTE."

CHAPTER XX.

Proceedings at Saint Cloud—Alarm prevalent there—Disordered flight of the royal party from thence to Versailles —Arrival of the royalist troops, and occupation of the town —The Dauphin compelled to join the King at Versailles—Attachment shown to the latter by the pupils of the college of St. Cyr—Arrival of the King and his party at Rambouillet, where they are joined by the Dauphiness—The Dauphin's proclamation to the troops—Useless act of abdication by the King and the Dauphin, in favour of the Duke of Bordeaux—Various regulations adopted by the Provisional Government.

SAINT Cloud was in a constant state of alarm during the whole of Friday, the 30th of July. A strong detachment of armed men passed close by the palace on their way to Paris, from the Ville d'Avray, in the course of the morning, and a regiment of the Line, which had been stationed at the entrance of the Park, abandoned their bivouac, destroyed the greater part of their arms, and proceeded towards the bridge of Sèvres. In the meantime the most preposterous reports were propagated, and believed in the palace. It was known that the Duke de Montemart had been invested with the office of president of the council, and it was stated, that he having gone to

Paris to negociate with the inhabitants, the result had been that a difference of opinion had arisen between the National Guard and the other citizens, that the whole town was in a state of anarchy and confusion, and that rapine and pillage were the order of the day. To give more consistency to this rumour, it was confidently asserted that the King had been heard to say, "Ils se battent entre eux; attendons qu'ils nous rappellent pour aller mettre l'ordre."

The Baron Weyler de Navas, one of the military attendants of the royal household, had been charged to provide for the subsistence of the troops as they arrived. The state of disorganization and misery in which the fugitives appeared, and the probability that they would soon be followed by the vengeance of the citizens, determined the royal family to think of immediate flight. At eight o'clock in the evening the gardes-du-corps were directed to hold themselves in readiness to start at a moment's notice. At two o'clock in the morning of the 31st, they were ordered to bridle their horses, bring them out, and mount without noise; and it was intimated to them that the King was about to leave Saint Cloud. The whole body was then drawn out in line behind the palace, in front of the orangery, and at half past three the King, the Duchess de Berri, and her two children, entered one of the royal carriages, and, followed by a

numerous train of attendants, and surrounded by the garde-du-corps, immediately proceeded on the road to Versailles.

The disorder and confusion of the flight are represented to have been extreme. At every outlet baggage-carts and horses made their appearance, in defiance of all regularity, and so completely blocked up the passage, as for some time to interrupt the movement of such of the troops as remained faithful to the royal cause. On arriving at the Ville d'Avray, the ground was found strewed with the fragments of arms, which, here too, had been destroyed by a disbanded regiment of the Line. The sentiments of the inhabitants of this village were evinced as they had been at Paris, by blotting out of their sign-boards every emblem of royalty; as in the case of the auberge "A la Chasse Royale," and of the wine-shop "du Garde à Pied." With these exceptions, there was nothing which occurred on the route to disturb the respect that was due to the fallen fortunes of Charles X. and his family. On arriving at Versailles by the Avenue de Saint Cloud, the pupils of the college of St. Cyr, who have always distinguished themselves by their attachment to the cause of royalty, were found drawn up in line near their pieces of artillery in the Allée de Trianon, and on the left were the colours of the 50th regiment of the Line carried by the Colonel, and escorted only by a few

of the non-commissioned officers who had maintained their fidelity.

The King established himself provisionally at the little palace of the Trianon, in the park of Versailles. The troops, as they arrived on their retreat, placed themselves in front, with the artillery at their head, to cover the chateau. It appeared that the town of Versailles had been in a state of insurrection during the whole of Friday, but that the commotion had fortunately been repressed. This, however, had not been effected until after the hotels of the gardes-du-corps, and the barracks of the other troops had been carried, and, as some say, plundered by the inhabitants. A few of the gardes-du-corps, who had been left in the depôt of their company, owed their lives to the intervention of the National Guard, whose conduct on the occasion is acknowledged by the household troops themselves to have been worthy of all praise. On the arrival of General Vincent, who presented himself in the course of the insurrection with several squadrons of cavalry, the inhabitants refused to open their gates, fearing, perhaps, that reprisals might be made upon them for the hostility they had displayed towards men who, for the last fifteen years, had been regarded as members of the community. In the course of the evening General Bordesoulle arrived with a park of artillery, and one thousand five hundred cavalry. After some previous negociation, Ge-

neral Bordesoulle was admitted, the town was occupied, and the King was in safety to pass on Saturday morning.

The Dauphin had remained at Saint Cloud, with a part of the troops, to guard the approaches of the bridge; but about nine o'clock in the morning was attacked by the armed peasantry from Anteuil, Boulogne, and the adjoining villages on the right bank of the Seine. The departure of the King was already known in Paris, from whence an armed force was sent towards the bridge of Sevrès, which was forthwith abandoned. It was then easy to cut off the communication between Saint Cloud and Versailles. Firing had already commenced in the town of Sevrès; and the Duke d'Esclignac, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Lancers of the Guard, was there severely wounded. It had previously been the Dauphin's intention to maintain himself in his position at Saint Cloud, and he had advised the King to remain at Trianon; but this movement of the Parisians compelled him to think of retreat, and before mid-day he had joined his father in the park of Versailles.

It was now obvious that the spirit of insurrection was spreading rapidly, and that the whole country was flying to arms. Within an hour after the Dauphin's arrival, it was resolved to proceed immediately to Rambouillet. This movement was probably hastened by the occa-

sional firing of musketry in the faubourgs of Versailles; and by the fact that several bullets had fallen in the alleys of the Trianon, within a few yards of the royal resting-place.

In passing the college of St. Cyr, the remains of the gen-d'armerie of Paris were drawn out to receive the King. The students had offered to accompany his Majesty, but after the King had stopped to thank them for the zeal they had displayed, they returned into their college by his Majesty's command, and the *cortège* proceeded. At the Trianon, the King had mounted his horse and placed himself at the head of the Luxembourg company of the body-guard. At nine o'clock in the evening he reached Rambouillet, where nothing was known of the movement an hour before his arrival. The gardes-du-corps formed their bivouac in the English gardens which surround the chateau, the troops of the guard and the artillery in the park, and on the heights which command Rambouillet, as far as the village of Perey, which was occupied as a military post.

On Sunday morning, the 1st of August, the Dauphiness arrived at Rambouillet, where a thousand rumours as to her personal safety had preceded her. She had been at the waters of Vichy since the commencement of July; and it was at Dijon, on her way to Saint Cloud, that she received, at the same moment, the first intelligence of the events of Paris, and of their

disastrous issue. Her journey to Vichy is believed to have been involuntary on her part, and to have been taken in compliance with an order of Charles X., to get rid probably of the embarrassment which her presence, and the known activity of her disposition, might have created during the preparations for the *coup d'etat* of the 25th of July. In spite of the agitation which prevailed in the town of Dijon at the moment of her arrival, her Royal Highness persisted in going to the theatre, and remained there throughout the performance, amidst the tumult excited by her presence. The officers of the eleventh regiment of Chasseurs surrounded her on her exit, and conducted her in safety to her hotel; but, in the course of the night, finding that all Burgundy was in arms, she set out for Tonnerre, with three of her retinue, the Count de Faucigny Lucinge, M. de Conflans, and Madame de Saint Maure. At Tonnerre, the Dauphiness disguised herself as a femme-de-chambre, and, with a single attendant, M. de Faucigny, in the dress also of a domestic, arrived at Fontainebleau, where the three-coloured flag was already displayed; and where it was, in consequence, thought unsafe for the Princess to remain. Orders were given for the departure of the *cortège* at nine o'clock in the evening; and, at that hour, a carriage set out on the road to Orleans, with a strong escort of gen-d'armerie.

It was believed in the town, that this carriage had contained the Princess, but it was filled with her female attendants; and, at a later hour in the night, her Royal Highness took the road to Paris, without any other precaution but that of the strictest incognito. On her arrival at La Belle Epine, her carriage took the road from Choisy to Versailles. At Bernis, she was informed of the evacuation of Saint Cloud, and the occupation of Versailles by the Parisians. She persisted, however, in pursuing her route, and, repelling the advice of her companion, she gave orders for setting out immediately. On her entrance into the town of Versailles, her carriage was surrounded by an armed multitude, who received her with shouts of *Vive la Charte! Vive la liberté!* An officer of the garde-du-corps, who had joined her at Bernis, and who sat on the box, waved his hat in the air, and repeated the popular shout; but the Princess did not stop at the post-house, proceeding with the same horses, and waiting for relays on the road to Rambouillet.

In his capacity of generalissimo, the Dauphin, on the 1st of August, issued an order of the day, which was read at the head of each regiment at Rambouillet. It was in the following terms:

"The King informs the army, in an official manner, that he has entered into an arrangement with the Provisional Government; and that every thing leads to the

belief that this arrangement is on the point of being concluded. His Majesty communicates this intelligence to the army, in order to calm the agitation which some regiments have displayed. The army will feel, that it ought to remain unmoved, and await the progress of events with tranquillity.

(Signed) "LOUIS ANTOINE.

"By his Royal Highness's command,

"The assistant Major-General,

"BARON DE GRESSOT."

The act of abdication by the King and the Dauphin, in favour of the Duke de Bordeaux, was dated the 2d of August, and was addressed as follows: "To my cousin, the Duke of Orleans, Lieutenant-General of the kingdom." As if to account for the king's recognition of the Provisional Government, the abdication was preceded by a document in the following terms:

"The King, being desirous to put an end to the disturbances which exist in the capital, and in a part of France, and counting on the sincere attachment of his cousin, the Duke of Orleans, appoints him Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

"The King, having thought proper to recall his ordinances of the 25th of July, approves of the Chambers assembling on the 3d of August; and he hopes that they will establish tranquillity in France.

"The King will wait here the return of the person charged to carry this declaration to Paris.

"Should the life or liberty of the King or his family be attempted, he will defend them to the last extremity.

"Done at Rambouillet, the 2d of August, 1830.

(Signed) "CHARLES."

The act of abdication is as follows:

"*Rambouillet*, 2 *August*, 1830.

"My Cousin,

"I am too deeply distressed at the evils with which my people are afflicted and threatened, not to seek the means of removing them. I have therefore resolved to abdicate the crown in favour of my grandson, the Duke de Bordeaux.

"The Dauphin, who shares my sentiments, renounces his rights also, in favour of his nephew.

"You will, therefore, in your capacity of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, cause the accession of Henry V. to the crown to be proclaimed. You will take all the other measures which concern you, for regulating the forms of the government, during the minority of the new King. I now confine myself to the communication of these arrangements, as the means of avoiding a great variety of evils.

"You will communicate my intentions to the diplomatic body; and you will take the earliest opportunity of making known to me the proclamation by which my grandson is recognized as King, under the title of Henry V.

"I charge Lieutenant General Viscount de Foissac Latour with this letter to you. He has orders to consult with you as to the arrangements to be made in favour of those persons who have accompanied me, as well as those which may be suitable for myself and the rest of my family.

"We shall afterwards regulate the other measures which may become necessary in consequence of the change of the reign.

"I renew to you, my cousin, the assurance of the sentiments with which I am your affectionate cousin,

(Signed) "CHARLES.

"LOUIS-ANTOINE."

It is known that this conditional abdication was ultimately disregarded; but before we reach the period of its arrival in Paris, there are other public documents which now require to be noticed. The first is a decree of the Provisional Government, suspending the operation of bills of exchange, in consequence of the interruption which all pecuniary transactions had suffered by the events of the revolution.

"THE MUNICIPAL COMMISSION OF PARIS,

"Considering that since the 26th of July the circulation of letters, and the negociation of commercial bills, have in a great measure been suspended; that since the 28th of July the sittings of the Tribunal of Commerce have been interrupted; and that the citizens engaged in the common defence have been forcibly compelled to suspend the ordinary course of their business; having heard the president of the Tribunal of Commerce, and considered the urgency of the circumstances;

"Ordains, 1st. That commercial bills payable at Paris from the 26th of July to the 15th of August, both days included, shall become due on the 10th day after they are payable in the ordinary course; bills payable on the 26th of July becoming due on the 5th of August, and so forth.

"2nd. The protests of commercial bills referred to in Article 1st shall likewise be suspended.

"Done at the Hotel de Ville, 31st July 1830.

"LOBAU: AUDRY DE PUYRAVEAU:
"DE SCHONEN: MAUGUIN."

The prefecture of police, which, in the hands of M. Mangin, had fallen into such extreme disrepute, does not necessarily require the exercise

of any duty inconsistent with the principles of a man of honour. M. Debelleyme had performed its functions under the Martignac administration, so as to conciliate the respect and esteem of the inhabitants of Paris. M. Bavoux was the first prefect of police appointed by the Provisional Government. His acceptance of office was announced by the following proclamation :

" PREFECTURE OF POLICE.

" PARISIANS !

" Having been entrusted by the Municipal Commission with the duty of watching over your safety, my first care has been to take the necessary measures for insuring your free intercourse.

" The sacred cause of liberty is gained. The country now appeals to your devotion to her interests. Continue your service in the National Guards, and remain at ease as to the safety of your property. Public tranquillity, and the preservation of those institutions which form the bulwark of the liberty which you have won with a courage above all praise, will be the reward of your generous efforts.

" The Prefect of Police, Deputy for the Department of the Seine,

" BAVOUX."

This officer was succeeded by M. Girod de l'Ain, who, in entering upon office, announced the fact by the following proclamation :

" INHABITANTS OF PARIS !

" The Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom has confided to me the functions of Prefect of Police, which M. Bavoux had consented to exercise provisionally, and of

which he acquitted himself with his well-known zeal and patriotism. Listening only to the call of duty, and forgetful of my own wishes, I have accepted these functions.

" Inhabitants of Paris!—You have known me as a deputy, as one of your magistrates, and as an old friend of liberty. On these grounds I ask a confidence which I shall never betray.

" After displaying your intrepidity in battle, continue to set the example of all the civic virtues; maintain public order and tranquillity; preserve with care all your means of defence, and even increase them: so that if an attempt should be made to wrest from you the fruits of your victory, you may still be found such as you were in the memorable days of July.

" The Prefect of Police,

" A. Girod de L'Ain.

" The Secretary General,

" P. Mallkval."

The Prefect of the Seine, whose duties in the French capital place him at the head of the local magistracy, published the following address to the inhabitants:—

" Brave Inhabitants of Paris!—Dear Fellow Citizens!

" The Municipal Commission, in charging me provisionally with the Prefecture of the Seine, has assigned me a duty at once very agreeable and very difficult to perform. Who can flatter himself with deserving the rank of first magistrate of a population whose heroic conduct has saved France, liberty, and civilization?—of a population which contains all that is distinguished in wealth, property, and commerce; in the magistracy, the sciences, or the arts? But it was you especially, whose eulogium can never be adequately pronounced,

and whose interests cannot be too well protected—industrious citizens of all professions, it was you whose spontaneous efforts, without guide or plan, found the means of resisting oppression, and of gaining the victory, without sullying it with a single stain. Ingenious and bold in danger, benevolent and simple in triumph, believe that if *I* have learned the extent of my duties, it has only been by appreciating the extent of your sacrifices. A summary of these glorious actions will hereafter be prepared, as well as of the losses and misfortunes with which they have been accompanied. Public beneficence has already been engaged in repairing these. Electors of Paris, who for the third time have called me to represent you in the legislature! may I hope that your suffrages will again support me in the new functions with which I am invested? Inhabitants of the capital! your magistrates do not wish to make their presence felt but by benefits; you will doubly honour your triumph by the calmness and good order which agree so well with success. Assist us yourselves in making you happy: it is the only premium, the only recompense which we ask for our labours.

(Signed) "ALEX. DELABORDE,
"Charged provisionally with the Prefecture of the Seine."

CHAPTER XXI.

Announcement of the removal of the Crown Jewels—Unsuccessful return of the Commissioners sent in consequence to Rambouillet—They are despatched again with an armed force, and accomplish their object—The King and his party compelled to set out on the road to Maintenon—Incidental particulars—Attachment manifested towards the King in his misfortunes by the gardes-du-corps—The King's escort lessened by the dismissal of the remaining troops of the Royal Guard—Entry of the Royal party into Dreux, and dismissal of the Artillery—The route continued to Melleraut—Anecdotes of the Royal fugitives—Their straitened resources relieved by the Provisional Government—Inconveniences attendant on the gardes-du-corps.

Soon after the royal family had left Saint Cloud, it was ascertained that the crown jewels, a national property of very great value, had been removed from their usual place of deposit. The fact was publicly announced in the following terms:

"MUNICIPAL COMMISSION OF PARIS.

"The Municipal Commission has found it necessary to take measures for securing the crown diamonds. The usual depositary of this valuable public property has declared that it was removed by the Marquis de la Bonillerie, whose receipt has been deposited at the mu-

nicipality. The court has left Saint Cloud precipitately. It is hoped that the crown jewels will be restored to their former place of deposit, as it is a question of personal probity, independent altogether of political considerations, and from which princes are not more exempt than private individuals. Moreover, M. de la Bonillerie, who has signed the receipt, has made himself personally responsible, and all the rigour of the law must be enforced against him.

"*Paris, August* 2, 1830."

In pursuance of this announcement, the Maréchal Maison, Messrs. Odillon, Barret, and de Schonen, were appointed commissioners, with instructions to proceed to Rambouillet, require the restoration of the jewels, and offer the King and the royal family a safe conduct to the frontiers. At this period, however, it appears that the King had not yet abandoned the idea of attempting to excite some popular movement in La Vendée. The commissioners, on their arrival at Rambouillet on Tuesday morning the 3rd of August, were refused admission into the royal presence, and immediately returned to Paris.

On their arrival, soon after mid-day, at the seat of the Provisional Government, an order was instantly issued to each of the twelve legions of the National Guard, to furnish five hundred men, who were to put themselves in readiness to proceed forthwith to Rambouillet. In order to accelerate this movement, the whole of the hackney coaches, and cabriolets, diligences, omnibuses, and other public carriages which ply in the streets,

were instantly put in requisition, and carried to the Champs Elysées, which had been appointed as the place of rendezvous. But in place of six thousand men, the number which had been considered sufficient by the Provisional Government to accomplish the object in view, before three o'clock at least three times that number had assembled at the place of rendezvous, and proceeded on the road to Rambouillet.

The rumour of the approach of this formidable column preceded them by several hours, having reached Rambouillet by seven o'clock in the evening.

At eight o'clock the commissioners arrived once more at the chateau, and on this occasion were treated with more courtesy than on their first appearance in the morning. At the advanced post they had been readily permitted to pass with their three-coloured cockades, and on being admitted into the presence of the King, they explained to him the serious dangers which he and his family would incur by offering any resistance to the powerful body of armed men who were then on their march to enforce the restoration of the national property, and to compel his Majesty and his family to quit the kingdom. The *ultima ratio* was found effectual; the crown jewels were restored, and at nine o'clock the King set out, under the protection of three unarmed men, on the road to Maintenon!

This retreat was precipitated by the King's knowledge of the fact that the desertion which had been begun in Paris was every instant becoming more extensive, the farther the troops were removed from the capital. To complete his misfortunes, it was known that his pecuniary resources were so nearly exhausted, that the common purse of the family, when collected together, was found to amount only to 100,000 francs; and that in the inconvenient form of notes of a thousand francs each. The lives and fortunes of so many of his courtiers, which a few days before had been at his Majesty's disposal, were now so little available, that the plate of the royal table was put in pawn to provide the supplies of meat and flour for the immediate consumption of his retinue. The bakers of the different regiments were immediately employed in making bread; but such was the state of starvation of many of the men, that it was forcibly carried off from the ovens before it was half baked.

The village of Perey, about three miles from Rambouillet, had been occupied by a regiment, which deserted *en masse*. The whole position of the royalists was thought to be compromised by this circumstance, as the advanced post was now only protected by a single company of gardes-du-corps, and a small detachment of Swiss. The King was surrounded by a number

of general officers, many of whom had been left absolutely without troops. One of these, General Vincent, had proceeded to the post at Perey, and there met Colonel Poques, an aide-de-camp of General Lafayette's, who, it was said, had been actively engaged in persuading the troops to return to Paris, and take the oath of fidelity to the Provisional Government. After some altercation between the two officers, the General ordered Colonel Poques to retire, and threatened, it is said, to fire upon him if he did not instantly comply. Colonel Poques remained where he was—the threatened order was given, and was immediately obeyed by the Swiss, when Colonel Poques, who had calmly crossed his arms, fell wounded in the leg. This incident is given on the authority of the journal of an ex-garde-du-corps, M. Theodore Anne, who states, in palliation of General Vincent's conduct, that the dust was so dense at the moment, that it was impossible to tell whether Colonel Poques was or was not accompanied by an armed force; and he congratulates himself that the deed had not been committed by Frenchmen.

The company of gardes-du-corps under the command of Colonel Dupille were ordered to make a charge in the direction from which Colonel Poques had arrived, on which it was ascertained that he had been wholly unaccompanied. When removed on the muskets of the Swiss, the

wounded officer is stated to have expressed no concern about his personal sufferings, but to have exclaimed, " Quelle atrocité ! des Français commettre un pareil acte ! si je gémis, ce n'est pas sur moi, mais sur vous, sur la responsabilité terrible que vous attirez sur vos têtes : jamais je n' aurais cru qu'on osât se porter à cette extrémité !"

On the squadron being relieved, to which M. Anne was attached, the King's letter of abdication was read to them, accompanied by an order of the day by the Duke de Luxembourg, the captain of the guard on duty, in which the corps was reminded, that whether they considered themselves the guards of Charles X., or of Henry V., their situation remained unchanged.

It is creditable to this select body, that, with very few exceptions, they remained faithful to their royal master in his misfortunes. After breaking up their bivouac at Rambouillet, a garde-du-corps of the Luxembourg company was directed to return for the protection of some effects which had been left on the spot where they had rested. The young man remonstrated with his officer, representing the probability of an attack being made during the night, and urging it as his right and his duty to share the dangers of his companions. This remonstrance was disregarded by his commanding officer, who repeated the order ; but the young garde-du-corps had scarcely reached the deserted bivouac,

when, thinking himself dishonoured, he pulled his pistol from his holster and blew out his brains.

The Duke de Mouchy, the captain of the company de Noailles, understood the point of honour differently. At the time of the revolution, this officer was not on duty at Saint Cloud, but rejoined his company on the 2nd of August at Rambouillet. On his arrival he visited the bivouac, congratulated his troop on their conduct, shook hands with several of the guardsmen, and observed that henceforward between them and him it was "*a la vie, a la mort.*" Before next morning, however, his Excellence had found occasion to change his views on the subject. At an early hour in the morning he passed his troop in a post-chaise for Paris, on a mission, it was understood, from the King to the Chamber of Peers. If such were the case, it is certain at least that he never returned; that on his arrival in Paris he assumed the three-coloured cockade, and took the oath of allegiance to Louis Philippe I., while his company, under the command of Lieutenant-Major the Marquis de Bonneval, was on its march to Cherbourg with the white cockade, to do the farewell honours to the King in his misfortunes. The Duke de Mouchy thought, perhaps, to retain his pay as a Lieutenant-General in the army; but in this he has been disappointed. His ingratitude to his former master has secured

him no favour at the new court, and his name has actually been erased from the army list.

On the 4th of August, at three o'clock in the morning, the King arrived at the residence of the Duke de Noailles, where he alighted. The troops proceeded to the town of Maintenon, where it was announced to them that the King was thenceforward to retain only the four companies of the garde-du-corps, and two pieces of artillery. At nine o'clock in the morning, the remains of the Royal Guard were drawn out in line on the road to Dreux, where they paid the last honours, and received the last adieus of their royal master. The Colonels of the different corps here returned their colours to the King, and the royal carriage was surrounded by the officers, many of whom broke their swords, and swore never to serve any other master. After this mournful ceremony, the following order of the day was issued by the Duke of Ragusa.

" *Maintenon, August 4th,* 1830.

" Immediately after the King's departure, all the regiments of infantry, artillery of the guard, and gens-d'armerie will march on Chartres, where they will receive all necessary supplies of provisions.

" The chiefs of corps, after assembling their respective regiments, will declare to them that it is with the liveliest sorrow that his Majesty sees himself obliged to separate from them; that they are charged to testify his satisfaction with the troops; and that he will ever retain the recollection of their good conduct, and of their con-

stancy and firmness in supporting the fatigues and privations with which they have been overwhelmed during the late unhappy circumstances.

"The King, for the last time, transmits his orders to the brave troops of the Guard, and to those of the Line, who have accompanied him; they are to proceed to Paris, where they are to make their submission to the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, who has taken all necessary measures for their safety, and their future welfare.

(Signed) "LE MARECHAL DUC DE RAGUSE."

"The Chief of the Staff,

"MARQUIS DE CHOISEUL."

On breaking up from their bivouac at Rambouillet, it was understood among the troops that the King was to proceed with them to Chartres, and from thence, after being joined by the troops encamped at St. Omer, towards the southern provinces of France. Orders to this effect had been communicated at Rambouillet, to the gardes-du-corps; but, after the publication of the general order, by which the other troops were disbanded, it was announced to them, that instead of Chartres, they were to proceed to Dreux, where they would sleep on the night of the 4th of August.

After passing Maintenon, the three-coloured cockade was frequently observed on the road. A number of travellers passed with it individually through the midst of the cortège, which was now reduced to eight hundred horsemen

of the garde-du-corps; a few of the officers and sub-officers of the Royal Guard; a small party of Chasseurs; and the carriages of the royal family and their suite.

In the course of the day, the Commissioners took the lead, and went forward to Dreux, to prepare for the King's reception, a halt being made about a league outside the town, to wait for their return; during this period a rumour obtained currency, that the inhabitants of Dreux had risen in arms, to resist their entrance. It had, in fact, required some intercession on the part of the Commissioners, to obtain permission for the King and the gardes-du-corps to pass through the town without dismounting the white colours and the white cockade, which were displayed by the royal fugitives and the suite. The point, however, was at length conceded; and the royal party entered between two lines of National Guards, decorated with three-coloured ribbons, and three-coloured cockades. This was the first occasion that such a spectacle had been presented to the cavalcade, and must have produced among them the feeling, that the King and his family were in the situation of prisoners of state; and that his military attendants were a mere guard of honour. The National Guard, however, presented arms, on the approach of the King; and the gardes-du corps bivouacked on the public promenades of Dreux. The artillery of the Royal Guard were

here dismissed, by order of the Commissioners, with the exception of two pieces of cannon, which continued to close the march.

On the 5th of August, the halt for the night was at Verneuil, where the population was tranquil, and the only feeling evinced was that of curiosity to see the royal fugitives. The next day's march was to l'Aigle, where the gardes-du-corps were, for the first time, billetted on the inhabitants, six billets being given to every party of thirty men. As l'Aigle is a manufacturing town, some disturbance was anticipated; but the principal inhabitants had placed themselves at the head of the popular movement. The military posts were already occupied by a well-organised National Guard; and a proclamation of the authorities had enjoined the calmness and quiet which was rigidly observed. The crowd was so great, as to leave scarcely room for the cavalcade to pass; but although the King must have seen very few friendly countenances among them, at least he did not hear a single word of insult; nor could he be dissatisfied with the demeanor of the populace, unless he misconstrued it into a parade of generosity. The National Guards again carried arms as the King advanced, and the salute was returned on the part of his attendants, with the usual military honours.

The column left l'Aigle at an early hour in the morning of the 7th of August, and proceeded

towards Melleraut, which is only seven leagues distant. The heat was this day excessive; and its inconvenience was greatly aggravated by the clouds of dust, thrown up by a thousand horsemen, and a crowd of carriages pressed together, as they advanced.

In the course of the journey, the royal family often left their carriages; the King and the Dauphin mounted on horseback, while the Princesses and the children proceeded on foot. On this day, for instance, the Dauphiness, accompanied by Madame de Saint Maure, walked at least two leagues, speaking as she went to the gardes-du-corps, and praising the zeal and the good conduct they had displayed. She entered also into conversation with the peasantry on the road, who were far from recognizing the descendant of so many kings in a person so plainly attired, and so covered with dust; who came, perhaps, to ask them for a glass of water to quench her thirst. In this manner the Dauphiness passed through two considerable villages, in which the tree of liberty had been planted a few hours before. The images which they presented to the mind of this heroine of misfortune, must have been sufficiently heart-rending; but in her countenance there was nothing to be seen but an expression of becoming resignation.

At Melleraut, the King was lodged in the house of M. de la Roque, a retired garde-du-

corps. His Majesty occupied a single chamber on the rez de chaussée, or ground floor; and the porter on duty, in the costume he had worn at Saint Cloud, placed himself at the outside of the door in the court of M. de la Roque's "petite maison de campagne," to introduce such persons of the King's suite as were to be admitted to the royal presence. On the first floor one bed-room was reserved for the Dauphin and Dauphiness; a second for the Duchess de Berri and her daughter Mademoiselle; and the third, and only remaining one, for the Duke de Bordeaux and his governor. The royal party dined in the King's bed-room, and, when dinner was over, the King and the Princes were obliged to go out to walk through the bivouac, that the servants might have an opportunity of preparing the apartment for its subsequent destination during the night. The King condescended to converse with several of his guards; inquired if they were not too much fatigued, and if their horses supported the journey well, and thanked them for the fidelity and good conduct they had displayed. During this conversation, two carriages arrived, belonging to the Dauphiness, which had been stopped by the inhabitants of Tonnerre, and had been afterwards sent forward by the Provisional Government. As soon as the Princess heard of their arrival, she came down stairs, and observed to M. O'Hegerty, the garde-du-corps on duty:

" Je suis très contente de l'arrivée de ces voitures; non pour les voitures en elles-mêmes, qui sont lourdes et roulent difficilement; mais au moins *à present j'aurai des chemises!*" The Duchess de Berri was so narrowly lodged, that she and her daughter sat for several hours on the grass amidst the bivouac of the gardes-du-corps, and employed themselves in sewing such articles of dress as they required for their immediate use. These statements are made on rather better authority than the preposterous rumours which were circulated with so much activity, in Paris as well as in London, at the period when this journey was performed.

The military Intendant, Baron Weyler de Navas, had left the King at Rambouillet, to go to Paris to give the Provisional Government his testimony, as an eye witness, to the state of destitution in which the King and his followers had been left. His representations were listened to with becoming attention by the Duke of Orleans and General Gerard, who readily granted all that was asked of them; and M. de Navas rejoined the *cortège* at Melleraut, bringing with him very welcome intelligence for Charles X. as well as for his attendants. The pay of the gardes-du-corps was greatly in arrear. They had received no part of what was due to them for the month of July, with the exception of fifty francs each, which had been paid on their leaving Saint Cloud,

and ten francs more on their arrival at Melleraut.

Till this day the weather had been fine; at least no rain had fallen; but on the night of the 7th it rained incessantly, to the great annoyance, no doubt, of a corps of gentlemen who were little accustomed to sleep in an open bivouac, cook their own victuals, and dress their own horses, as during this journey they had been compelled to do. It is mentioned by a member of the corps, that, having stopped for an instant at a little *auberge* to give his horse a feed of oats, the stable-boy, who had been carefully observing the column as it passed, and had been tired with the sight of so many epaulettes, exclaimed with apparent surprise:

"Monsieur, dans votre regiment il n'y a donc pas des soldats?"—"Non; chez nous les soldats sont officiers."—"Ma foi!" rejoined the stable-boy; "si je l'avais su, j'aurais voulu servir dans ce corps la!"

CHAPTER XXII.

Uncertainty among the attendants of Charles X. as to the course of events in Paris—Intelligence brought to them at Argentan of the election of the Duke of Orleans—Progress of the royal retinue—Mysterious conveyance of the Princess de Polignac and her children—Details connected with the arrest of the Prince de Polignac—Hazard incurred by Marmont at Condé—Reasons for the slow rate of travelling of the royal fugitives—Arrival of the cavalcade at Vire—Order of procession and enumeration of the suite—Characteristic proneness to desertion among the courtiers—Entry into the town of Saint Lo: contrasted with a former occasion—Progress of the *cortège* through Carentan and Valognes—Farewell reception of the gardes-du-corps by Charles X.—Change of costume adopted by some of the fugitive family—Arrival of the party at Cherbourg, and embarkation for England—Disbanding of the gardes-du-corps.

The *Moniteur* was forwarded every morning to Charles X., but his attendants had little better than public rumour to guide them as to the events which were taking place at Paris. At Melleraut it was believed that hostilities had recommenced in the capital, and that the Duke of Orleans, at the head of one party, was claim-

ing the crown, while Lafayette, by another, had been proclaimed president of the republic.

On the 8th of August, however, an estafette arrived, announcing that the Duke of Orleans had been called to the throne, and proclaimed by the two Chambers King of the French, under the title of Louis Philippe I.

It was at Argentan that this intelligence was brought to the fallen family; and in the course of the day it was known throughout the King's retinue by the arrival of a Parisian journal, announcing the fact.

At Argentan, a halt was made for the day, the King having resolved on going to hear mass in the cathedral. In the course of their stay, it was reported in the neighbourhood that the inhabitants had been attacked by the gardes-du-corps, and that the town had been exposed to fire and sword. As the rumour spread over the country, the peasantry armed themselves with scythes and pitchforks, and hastened to the relief of the town's-people. On their arrival, they were soon convinced of the public tranquillity, and of the good understanding which existed between the inhabitants and the royal escort; but this popular effervescence had produced the greatest alarm among the royal fugitives, from whom an order had been three times given in the course of the morning, to set out for Guibray, and had as often been recalled.

At Argentan, the two pieces of cannon, which had hitherto brought up the rear, were dismissed by order of the Commissioners. Here also a close carriage, which till now had immediately followed that of the King, under the escort of a party of gens-d'armes des chasses, disappeared from the *cortège*. It had been observed always to stop wherever the King lodged; but it had never been opened. After its departure, it was known among the King's suite that it had contained the Princess de Polignac and her children, who had proceeded to the coast in the neighbourhood of Valognes, and had there embarked for England. During its stay, the carriage, from the mystery which seemed to hang over it, had excited the greatest curiosity among the King's retinue, most of whom believed that it contained the Prince de Polignac himself. If it did not, it is difficult to account for the extreme circumspection observed in concealing the persons of the travellers; but, on the supposition that it did, it is easy to understand why the Prince should have thought it safer to embark near Granville, where he was arrested, than at the extremity of the peninsula, where the Commissioners must have been made acquainted with his presence, and might not perhaps have been able to prevent the inhabitants of Cherbourg from laying violent hands on the culprit minister.

When the Prince made his appearance at Granville, he was disguised as a domestic, and formed part of the suite of Madame Lepelletier de Saint Fargeau, but maintained his incognito so imperfectly as to occupy the best chamber in the inn where the party was lodged, to wear several rings of great value on his fingers, and to make frequent use of a valuable gold snuff-box. The hauteur with which he spoke to those around him, and the attentions he received from the lady whose servant he professed to be, attracted attention to these other circumstances of suspicion; and, amidst the conjectures which his appearance had created, a waggoner, to whom he had spoken more haughtily than was necessary, exclaimed to some of his companions, "If this now should be Polignac!" On this the ex-minister was arrested without further evidence than he had himself afforded by his own imprudence. As long as he remained in the prison of Saint Lo, to which he was carried from Granville, he seemed to have very little idea of the serious situation in which he stood. On the return of the Commissioners from Cherbourg, he was visted by M. de Schonen, who is reported to have said to him: "Eh bien! Prince, vous avez perdu une belle partie." The Prince's answer was, "Monsieur, je prendrai ma revanche."

While the gardes-du-corps were still at Saint Lo, on their return from Cherbourg, waiting the

arrangements which were necessary as preparatory to their being disbanded, a fire broke out in one of the quarters of the town not far from the prison in which the Prince de Polignac was confined. This circumstance gave rise to the supposition that it had been raised by the gardes-du-corps in the hope of providing for the Prince's escape in the confusion which must ensue. In this rumour there was certainly not a shadow of truth, as is proved by the testimony which is borne to the good conduct of these persons by the Commissioners, and still more by the zeal with which they assisted in extinguishing the flames; not less than ten of their number having been seriously hurt on the occasion.

It appears that Madame de Saint Fargeau had been resident for a few days before the Prince's arrest at the house of Madame Martemere, in the commune of Duce, at a short distance from the town of Granville. A small vessel had been hired to convey the fugitive to the island of Jersey; but, having been caught by the ebb tide, the Prince had discovered his impatience to get away by insisting on immediate embarkation, although the vessel could not possibly sail until floated by the morning tide.

On his arrest, the suspicion as to his identity was strengthened by the extreme anxiety displayed by his pretended mistress, and the contradictory accounts they mutually gave of each other: the lady saying that the Prince had been

but two years in her service, while the latter extended it to seven. The following letter, addressed by the Prince to the President of the Chamber of Peers, seems entitled to a place, from the singularity of the circumstances under which it was written, as well as from the peculiarity of the style :

Saint Lo, Aug. 17, 1830.

" MONSIEUR LE BARON,

" Having been arrested at Granville, at the moment when I was flying from the deplorable events that have just taken place, and seeking an opportunity to retire to the island of Jersey, I am detained a prisoner in the hands of the provisional commission of the prefecture of the department of La Manche ; neither the procureur du roi for the arrondissement of Saint Lo, nor the examining magistrate, having any power, according to the terms of the charter, to issue a warrant against me, even on the supposition of the government, (of which however I am ignorant,) having given orders for my arrest. ' It is only by the authority of the Chamber of Peers,' says article 29 of the new charter, and which in this respect is conformable to the old charter, ' that a member of the Chamber of Peers can be arrested.'

" I know not what steps the Chamber of Peers may take on this subject, or whether it will charge me with the lamentable events of the

three days, which I deplore more than any man, which came on with a rapidity equalling that of the fall of a thunderbolt in the midst of the tempest, and which no human strength or prudence could arrest—since in those terrible moments it was impossible to know to whom to listen, or to whom to apply; and all one's efforts were required to defend one's own life!

"My only desire, M. le Baron, is, that I may be permitted to retire to my own home, and there resume those peaceful habits of private life, which alone are suited to my taste, and from which I was torn in spite of myself, as is well known to all who are acquainted with me. I have seen enough of vicissitudes; my head is whitened with the reverses of a life of storms and changes; but at least, I cannot be reproached, in the time of my prosperity, with the vindictive exercise of power, against those who treated me with undue severity, during my adverse fortunes.

"In what situation should we all be placed, M. le Baron, surrounded as we are by the changes of the age in which we live, if the political opinions of those who are smitten by the tempest, were to become crimes or misdemeanors in the eyes of those who have embraced a more fortunate side of the question? If I cannot obtain permission to retire quietly to my home, I beg to be allowed to withdraw to a foreign country, with my wife and children: or, finally,

if the Chamber of Peers determine to decree my imprisonment, I request that the fortress of Ham, in Picardy, may be chosen as the place of my detention, where I was long in captivity in my youth; or some other fortress, at once spacious and commodious. That of Ham would agree better than any other with the state of my health, which has been for some time enfeebled, and has been greatly injured by recent events.

"The misfortunes of an honest man should meet with some sympathy in France. But, at all events, M. le Baron, I may venture to say, that it would be barbarous to bring me into the capital at a time when so many prejudices have been raised against me—prejudices which my own unsupported voice cannot appease, and which time alone can tranquillize. I have been too long and too well accustomed to see all my intentions misrepresented, and placed in the most odious light.

"To you, M. le Baron, I have submitted all my wishes, not knowing to whom I ought to address myself. I beg you to submit the matter to the consideration of those to whom the decision of right belongs; and that you will accept the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) "The Prince de Polignac."

"P. S. I beg you may do me the favour to acknowledge the receipt of this letter."

As the great fair was to be held at Guibray, on the 10th of August, it was resolved by the King, and the Commissioners, (who consulted, as far as possible, his Majesty's wishes on the subject,) to pass through that town, and the neighbouring one of Falaise, and to double the day's march, by proceeding to Condé-sur-Noireau, in the hopes of obtaining better accommodation at a distance from the fair. At Falaise, the party was joined by M. de la Pommeraye, the deputy of the department of La Manche, and Colonel Chatry-Lafosse, who had been sent by the town of Caen to represent to the Commissioners the state of irritation which the slowness of the King's journey had excited throughout the population of Normandy. It was the wish of the Commissioners to have proceeded by Caen, in place of Condé, and that some port in the neighbourhood of Granville should, in preference to Cherbourg, have been the point of embarkation. But his Majesty persisted in pursuing the route by Condé, which, being filled with a manufacturing population, evinced, as the Commissioners had probably anticipated, a greater degree of hostility than elsewhere, to the King and his retinue. At Condé the National Guard did not present, or pay any military honours to the King or the gardes-du-corps. On the contrary, the appearance of Marmont excited a serious fermentation among them, and preparations had been made,

by a strong party of the armed inhabitants, to carry off the Marshal during the night, as a prisoner, from the house in which he was lodged. The scheme, however, having been discovered by the Commissioners, the assemblage was dispersed by the timely interference of Marshal Maison. From that period the Duke of Ragusa ceased to wear the numerous decorations with which he was covered, retaining only that of the Saint Esprit, and lodging always afterwards in the house occupied by the King.

The impatience manifested by the inhabitants of Normandy to get speedily rid of Charles X. and his retinue, was probably excited by an idea that their object was to gain the time which might be necessary for exciting a royalist insurrection in some other part of the country. It is obvious, however, that a sufficient cause existed, apart from all other considerations, for the moderate speed at which the King travelled, in the mere number of his followers, and the consequent difficulty of finding provender and provisions for them, in the small towns through which they passed. Full rations were never procured for the horses; a truss of hay, and two or three handfuls of oats, were in general all that could be obtained after a day's journey of ten or twelve leagues. The gardes-du-corps had attended the Dauphin in his Spanish campaign in 1823, but they were then provided

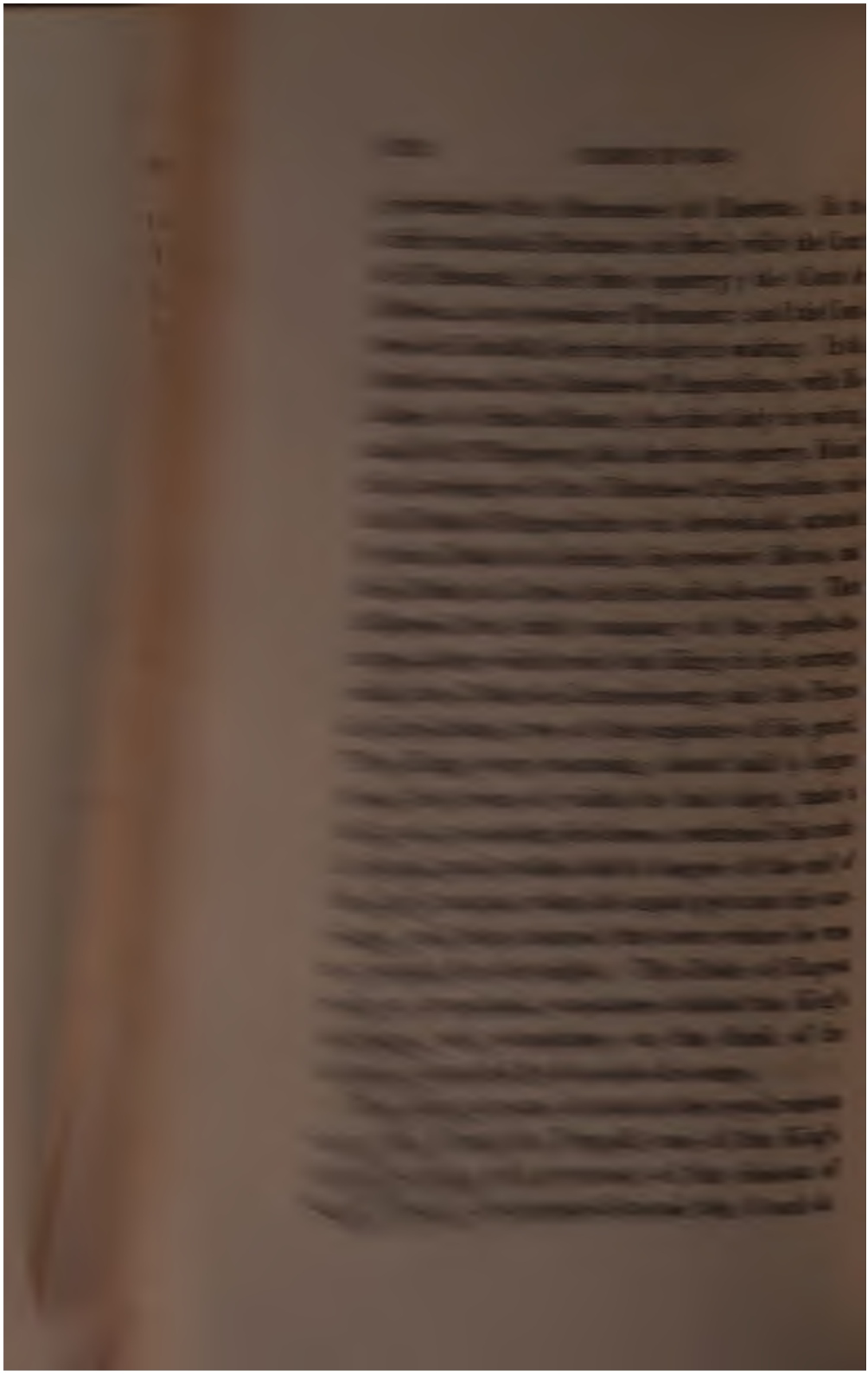
every man with his groom. These gentry, however, had all deserted, many of them not without robbing their masters, at the moment of the King's departure. If any remained, they were in the service of the superior officers; and their fidelity may be judged of from the fact, that on the day when the corps was disbanded, there were only fifteen grooms to eight hundred gardes-du-corps.

At Condé-sur-Noireau, the King was lodged in the house of a protestant gentleman, because it happened to be the best in the town. Previously to his arrival, the Mayor had issued a proclamation, calling on the inhabitants to respect the misfortunes of Charles X., and to abstain from any exclamations which might hurt the feelings of the fallen monarch. The same precautions were taken at Vire, where the cavalcade arrived on the 11th, and where it was remarked by the King that he had seen a greater number of three-coloured cockades than any where else on his route. The occasion for this remark was probably produced by the circumstance of the Mayor, in his anxiety to prevent disturbance, having assembled an extraordinary national guard of some three hundred men, who, being as yet without arms, or uniforms, were furnished with batons and three-coloured cockades as mere emblems of authority.

The neighbourhood of Vire, and some districts

in the department of Calvados, had been exposed to the dreadful conflagrations by which Normandy had been ravaged in the months of April, May, June, and July, of the present year. The royalist and constitutional parties in France were mutually accused by each other of having instigated the commission of these frightful offences. A solemn judicial investigation had failed to discover the perpetrators; but since the overthrow of the power of Charles X., and his ministers, a woman, who had been previously interrogated judicially, but till then had refused to make any disclosures, affirmed that she had contributed to the work of destruction, and had acted by the orders of a Curé, whom she named. The ministry were long ago pointed to as the prime movers in this system of devastation; so that in Normandy, at this period, the names of Polignac and incendiary had become synonymous terms.

The royal cavalcade was regularly marshalled every morning in the following order: In front was an advanced guard, followed at some distanee by two of the four companies of gardes-du-corps. Then came the carriages of the Princes. In the first was the Duke de Bordeaux, with his governor the Baron de Damas, his under-governors the Marquis de Barbançois and the Count de Maupas, and M. de Villatte, his first valet-de-chambre. In the second was Mademoiselle, with her governess the Duchess de Gontaut, and her under-



Lassalle, another of the King's aides-de-camp, and governor of Compeigne; the Marquis de Courbon-Blenac, major of the gardes-du-corps; the Marquis de la Maisonfort, aide-major of the gardes-du-corps; the Baron de Gressot, and the Marquis de Choiseul-Beauprè, majors general of the royal guard; Major General Count Auguste Larochejaquelein; Major-General Baron de Crossart; Colonel de Fontenilles, of the royal horse guards; the Baron Weyler de Navas, understeward of the King's military household; the Duke Armand de Polignac, the King's first equerry; the Count O'Hegerty, equerry commandant; the Viscount Hocquart, chamberlain and maitre-d'hotel. To these may be added the Count de Chateaubriand, colonel of the 4th chasseurs, who, with one of his sub-lieutenants, were the only officers of the line who accompanied the King to Cherbourg. In the rear of the fourth company of the gardes-du-corps, followed the numerous carriages of the suite, escorted by the gens-d'armes des chasses, a splendid body of men, who, without exception, retained their fidelity to the last moment.

The distinguished individuals, whose names are here given, form of course but a very small proportion of the regular *habitués* of the palace. The desertion began on the King's moving from Saint Cloud; it was continued at the Trianon, and completed at Rambouillet, where there was

governess the Baroness de Charette. In the third was the Duchess de Berri, with the Count de Mesnard, her first equerry; the Count de Brissac, her chevalier d'honneur; and the Countess de Bouillé, her first lady in waiting. In the fourth was the Duchess d'Angoulême, with Madame de Saint-Maure, her first lady in waiting, and M. O'Hegerty, *fils*, her first equerry. Behind the carriage of the Duchess d'Angoulême rode the Duke d'Angoulême on horseback, attended by the Duke de Guiche, his *premier Menin*, and the Duke de Levis, his first aide-de-camp. Then followed the third company of the gardes-du-corps, after which rode the King in his carriage, with the Duke de Luxembourg, and the Prince de Croi-Solre, two of the captains of his guard. The King every morning, about half a league from the town at which he had slept, made a halt, and, mounting his horse, continued his route *à cheval*, until within half a league of the end of the day's march, when he again got into his carriage, and thus entered the town where he was to remain for the night. The Duke of Ragusa rode on horseback, sometimes behind the King's carriage, and sometimes on the flank of the column, attended by his aides-de-camp.

The other persons of note in the royal retinue were the Count de Trogoff, one of the King's aides-de-camp, and governor of the chateau of Saint Cloud; Lieutenant-General the Count de

Lassalle, another of the King's aides-de-camp, and governor of Compeigne; the Marquis de Courbon-Blenac, major of the gardes-du-corps; the Marquis de la Maisonfort, aide-major of the gardes-du-corps; the Baron de Gressot, and the Marquis de Choiseul-Beauprè, majors general of the royal guard; Major General Count Auguste Larochejaquelein; Major-General Baron de Crossart; Colonel de Fontenilles, of the royal horse guards; the Baron Weyler de Navas, under-steward of the King's military household; the Duke Armand de Polignac, the King's first equerry; the Count O'Hegerty, equerry commandant; the Viscount Hocquart, chamberlain and maitre-d'hotel. To these may be added the Count de Chateaubriand, colonel of the 4th chasseurs, who, with one of his sub-lieutenants, were the only officers of the line who accompanied the King to Cherbourg. In the rear of the fourth company of the gardes-du-corps, followed the numerous carriages of the suite, escorted by the gens-d'armes des chasses, a splendid body of men, who, without exception, retained their fidelity to the last moment.

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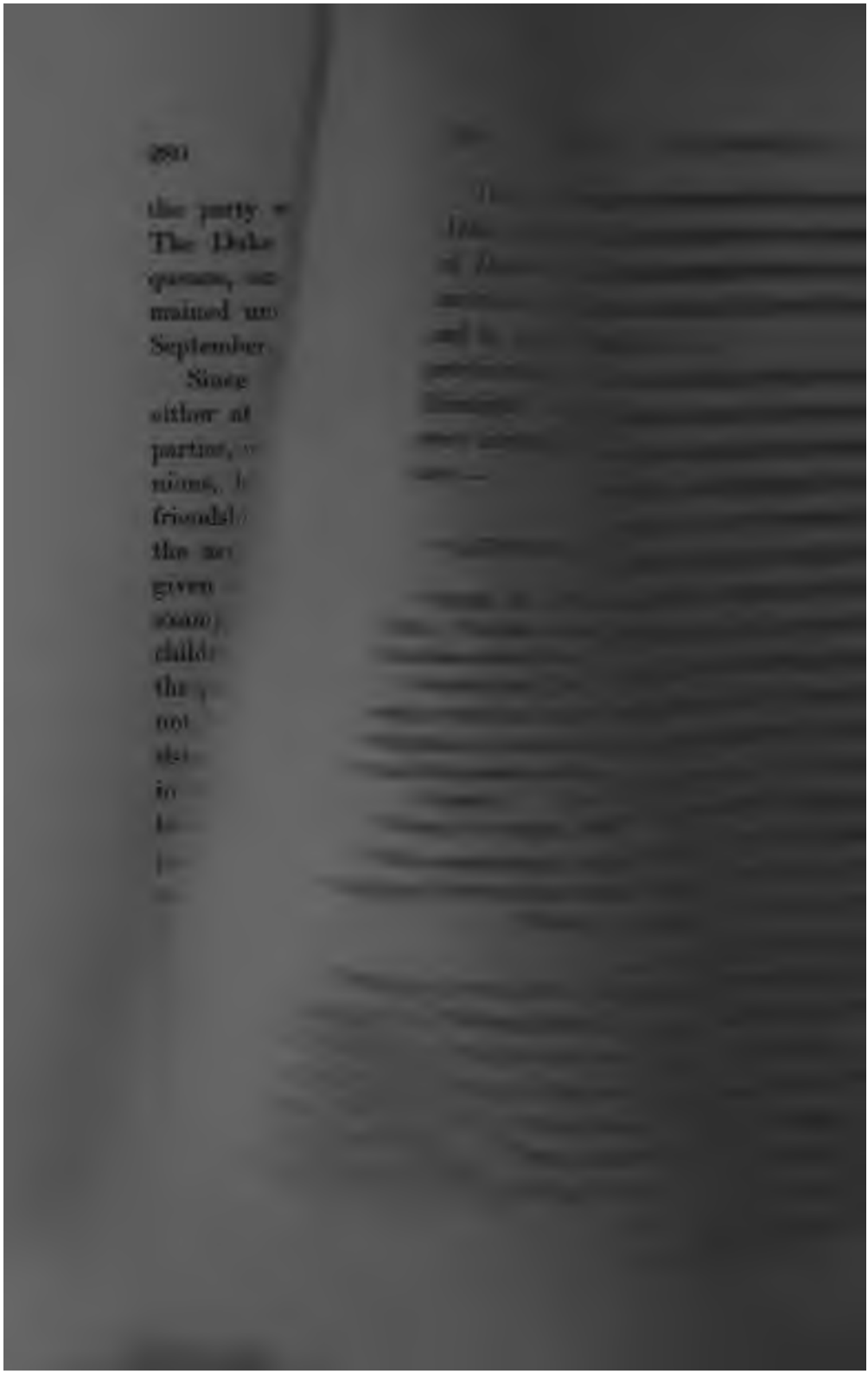
still, perhaps, a hope that some chance might turn up in favour of the Duke de Bordeaux. The idea which seemed to prevail among those who thus hastened to Paris was, that he who should first arrive would secure the best place; but, alas! for the parasites, the new King of the French desires no court, and encourages no courtiers; farewell then to the grand equerries, the chamberlains, and intendants, the grand and small *menins*, and gentlemen of the bedchamber—their occupation in France is gone! It is a sad libel, not on the French court merely, but on courtiers in general, that not one of the first gentlemen of the bedchamber went further than Rambouillet—and scarcely a single representative from the leading departments in the civil household. The *chasse* was totally unrepresented, as were also the department of the ceremonies, and that of the wardrobe. The stables indeed sent two of their equerries, and General Vincent, *écuyer cavaloador*, went as far as Dreux; but he was there dismissed in consequence, it is said, of the order he had given, in the neighbourhood of Rambouillet, to fire on Lafayette's unfortunate aide-de-camp, Colonel Poques.

On the arrival of the *cortège* at Vire, the King found it necessary to yield to the entreaties which had been made to him to hasten his progress. It was ascertained that two regiments of infantry had arrived from Bayeux and Caen,

and had established their bivouac within a quarter of a league from the line of road by which the retinue was to pass; but whether for the purpose of protection, or to accelerate the King's movements, was not made apparent. They did not come within sight, as a body, but a number of the officers made their appearance at the junction of the roads to look at the *cortège* as it passed.

Instead of stopping at Vire, the King proceeded by Thorigny to Saint Lo, where he was lodged more commodiously than elsewhere, at the hotel of the prefecture of the department. The Count d'Estourmel, the prefect of La Manche, had already resigned his office, but came out accompanied by the Prince de Leo and the Count de Bourbon-Busset, to meet the King, and conduct him to his hotel. At the entrance of the town, the 6th Light Infantry made its appearance, and was the first regiment which the King had yet seen under the tricoloured flag.—The Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême had visited Cherbourg in 1828 and 1829, and, in passing on these occasions, they had made some stay in the town of Saint Lo, where they had been received with all the external marks of popular welcome. On this occasion they entered amidst the display of three-coloured flags, and a disdainful silence, interrupted only by an occasional cry of *Vive la Charte!* or *Vive la Liberté!* which the local



embled at Carentan. After several from Saint Lo had failed to induce eparate, the Commissioners found it to advance in person, but could only prevailing on the armed inhabitants the town, in order to march on a place of greater strength within ula, and through which the King ass on his way to Cherbourg. Their ns, that the port of Cherbourg was n open to the English, and that a urrection was to be excited in Brit- *cortège* passed through Carentan on August, and arrived at six o'clock ening at Valognes, after a day's jour- rteen leagues, having halted for an int Cosme, a large village near the the watercourse, called Quatre Ri- ich forms the barrier of the peninsula. demonstration of a feeling of popular to the fallen family which occurred this melancholy journey, was evinced bourg, a considerable village near the re the carriage of the Duke de Bor- surrounded by the inhabitants, some exclaimed, with tears in their eyes, a bien defendu vous témoigner de mais c'est régal: *Vive le Duc de* revenez bientôt."

es, the royal family were lodged in

authorities were unable wholly to repress; and the Dauphiness was heard to exclaim, as she passed under the gateway of the hotel, while tears ran down her cheeks, "Ah! mon Dieu! quelle difference!"

Soon after the King's arrival, it was known that in the small town of Carentan, which lay on the proposed route, there had assembled a strong party of National Guards, to the number, it was said, of six or seven thousand, who had been made to believe that the King was accompanied by twenty thousand Swiss and forty pieces of cannon, and that it was the intention of Charles X. to establish himself in the peninsula of Cotentin, of which Carentan is the key, and to fix his head-quarters at Cherbourg, which was to become the seat of the Bourbon government. This absurd rumour had gained credence even at Saint Lo, where the National Guards had prepared to join those who had assembled at Carentan, there to form a barrier against the King's further progress, unless he should consent to dismiss his whole escort, and proceed to his place of embarkation under the exclusive protection of the National Guard.

Although the phantom which had thus been created was compelled to disappear, at Saint Lo, before the demonstration afforded by the King's arrival, it was found extremely difficult to eradicate the idea from the minds of the

people assembled at Carentan. After several messengers from Saint Lo had failed to induce them to separate, the Commissioners found it necessary to advance in person, but could only succeed in prevailing on the armed inhabitants to evacuate the town, in order to march on Valognes, a place of greater strength within the peninsula, and through which the King must also pass on his way to Cherbourg. Their idea now was, that the port of Cherbourg was to be thrown open to the English, and that a royalist insurrection was to be excited in Brittany. The *cortège* passed through Carentan on the 13th of August, and arrived at six o'clock the same evening at Valognes, after a day's journey of fourteen leagues, having halted for an hour at Saint Cosme, a large village near the bridge over the watercourse, called Quatre Rivières, which forms the barrier of the peninsula. The only demonstration of a feeling of popular attachment to the fallen family which occurred throughout this melancholy journey, was evinced at Montebourg, a considerable village near the coast, where the carriage of the Duke de Bordeaux was surrounded by the inhabitants, some of whom exclaimed, with tears in their eyes, "On nous a bien defendu vous témoigner de l'intéret; mais c'est régal: *Vive le Duc de Bourdeaux!* revenez bientôt."

At Valognes, the royal family were lodged in

the house of M. Dumenildot, and it was resolved that they should remain there until the day of embarkation, which was fixed for the 16th. Two American vessels, the Great Britain and the Charles Carrol, which were at Havre at the period of the King's departure from Saint Cloud, and which were said to be the property of Joseph Bonaparte, but which in fact belonged to his father-in-law Mr. Patterson, had been chartered for his Majesty's use, and had already arrived at Cherbourg fully equipped even for a long voyage.

On the 15th, it was intimated to the gardes-du-corps, that the King was to take from thence the four white standards which they had hitherto retained, and was to receive a deputation consisting of the officers and the twenty-four oldest members of each company, for the purpose of giving them a last adieu. They were introduced, according to seniority, into the King's apartment, where the Dauphin and Dauphiness, the Duchess de Berri, and her two children, were with his Majesty, to assist in the performance of this mournful ceremony. The King received the standards, and, after embracing the officers who carried them, he said "Je reprends vos drapeaux; ils sont sans tache: mon petit-fils vous les rendra: je vous remercie de votre dévouement, de votre fidélité et de votre sagesse. Je n'oublierai jamais les preuves d' attachement

que vous m'avez données, ainsi qu'à ma famille. Adieu! soyez heureux."—In the course of the evening a printed copy of the following order of the day, was delivered to each member of the corps.

"The King, in quitting the French territory, could wish that he were able to give to each of his gardes-du-corps, and to every officer and soldier who has accompanied him to his place of embarkation, a proof of his attachment and remembrance.

"But the circumstances by which the King is afflicted, make it impossible for him to listen to the wish of his heart. Deprived of the means of acknowledging a fidelity so affecting, his Majesty has caused to be brought to him the muster-rolls of the companies of his gardes-du-corps, and the lists of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, who have followed him. Their names will be preserved by the Duke de Bordeaux, and will remain inscribed in the archives of the royal family, to attest for ever the misfortunes of the King, and the consolation he has found in so much disinterested devotion.

"*Valognes*, 15*th August*, 1830.

"(Signed) CHARLES.

"The Major-General,

"Maréchal Duc de RAGUSE."

On the 16th of August, at nine o'clock in the morning, the King and the royal family, escorted by seven of the eight squadrons of the gardes-du-corps, left Valognes for Cherbourg, which is five leagues distant. The unfavourable feelings en-

tertained by the inhabitants were evinced by the return of two general officers, who had proceeded to Cherbourg a few hours before, but were refused admittance into the town, in consequence of their wearing the white cockade.

Hitherto the King had worn the same style of dress to which he had been accustomed since his accession to the throne, viz. a blue coat, of a military form, with two large gold epaulettes, surmounted by the royal crown, the crosses of the Legion of Honour, and Saint Louis, and the star of the order of the Holy Ghost. On this day, however, he had laid aside these insignia, and appeared in the ordinary dress of a private gentleman. The Dauphin, also, who till then had worn, as he had been accustomed to do at the Tuileries and Saint Cloud, the uniform of his own regiment of cuirassiers, viz. a blue coat, crimson collar, white buttons, and silver epaulettes, now appeared like the King, in coloured clothes, and with no decoration but a red ribbon at his button-hole. Those he had formerly worn, were the cross of Saint Louis, the Lily, the Brassard of Bordeaux, in commemoration of his entrance into that town, on the 12th of March 1814, the gold cross of the Legion of Honour, and the star of the order of the Holy Ghost.

The Duke de Bordeaux was generally dressed in a blue jacket, and white trowsers, with the collar of his shirt folded over, a grey hat, and no

decoration. According to the usage established for the elder branch of the royal family, it was on the day of his first communion, that the King would have presented him with the blue ribbon, and the cross of Saint Louis. It was on the previous Whitsunday that the prince saw the Duke de Nemours created a chevalier of the order of the Holy Ghost, on attaining his fifteenth year; and he no doubt thought that *his* turn was approaching. He had then, certainly, very little idea that in three months he was to go into exile, and that his place was so soon to be occupied by his youthful relative. At Saint Cloud, on Sundays, the Duke de Bordeaux was generally dressed in the uniform of his regiment, the 3d curassiers, dark blue turned up with yellow, and silver epaulettes. But this practice was not observed on the journey—not even at Rambouillet, at the period when it was proposed that he should be proclaimed King of France by the title of Henry V. It has been stated, but incorrectly, that in the course of the journey he was addressed as Sire, and "Your Majesty:" Charles X. alone was so treated, and the Duke de Bordeaux was called, as at Saint Cloud, "Your Royal Highness," and "Monseigneur."

On approaching the coast, near the entrance of the town, some marks of hesitation were observable at the head of the column. The leading

company of the gardes-du-corps having halted, the whole *cortège* were obliged to do the same; and the King having inquired with some indication of surprise as to the cause of the interruption, was answered by the Marquis de Courbon, the major of the guards, near the royal person, that a considerable crowd had been formed close to the beach; but that as yet no hostile intention had been manifested. "Marchez toujours," was the King's reply, and M. de Courbon, having bowed in acquiescence, addressed himself in a low tone to the Duke of Ragusa, who was then on horseback at the door of the King's carriage. An apprehension was probably entertained that the object of this crowd was to lay violent hands on Marmont, who contented himself with retiring to his usual position, behind the royal carriage, from which he did not stir during the passage through the town.

The 64th regiment of the Line was drawn out to receive the King on his entrance into Cherbourg; the soldiers presented arms to him as he passed, and the officers saluted him with their sabres. An officer, not on duty, who happened to be on the road as the King passed, was observed to pull off his chako, and conceal it behind his person, that the royal family might not see the three-coloured cockade with which it was decorated; a movement which must have been

inspired by a sentiment of delicacy highly honourable to the individual, who was a captain of the 64th of the Line.

The *cortège* passed rapidly through the town, and entered the naval dock-yard, where a ship of the line, which had twice been named the King of Rome, and was then known as the Duke de Bordeaux, was still on the stocks. The royal family alighted in front of the Great Britain. The king was the first to embark; the Dauphin followed, leading the Duke de Bordeaux by the hand; Madame de Gontaut and Mademoiselle were the next in order; the Duchess de Berri took the arm of M. de Charrotte, and the Dauphiness that of M. de Larochejaquelein, a distinguished royalist, whose brothers, Henry and Louis, had fallen in the cause of the Bourbons, the former in 1793, and the latter in 1815.

The maritime prefect presented Captain Dumont Durville, of the Great Britain, to the King. Captain Durville expressed his readiness to convey his Majesty to whatever place he chose to name; the latter answered that he wished, in the first instance, to proceed to Spithead. After paying the last adieus to those officers who had entered the Great Britain, and who were not to remain, the King and the royal family retired into the principal cabin.

Besides the royal family and their personal attendants, there sailed in the Great Britain

the Duke de Luxembourg and the Duke de Ragusa, the governor and two under-governors of the Duke de Bordeaux, and the Duchess de Gontaut. On board the Charles Carroll were the Duke Armand de Polignac, the Count O'Hegerty and his son, Madame de Bouillé and her son, an under-governor of the Duke de Bordeaux, and Messrs. de Choiseul, de Charette, and de Larochejaquelein.

At half-past two o'clock, the Great Britain and the Carroll got under weigh, escorted by the French frigate la Seine, Captain d'Urville, and the cutter le Rodeur.

As soon as the ships were out of sight, the gardes-du-corps, who had been drawn up in front of the spot where the embarkation had taken place, removed the white cockades from their hats, and proceeded, without halting at Cherbourg, on their return to Carentan, where they slept on the 17th, and were next day disbanded at Saint Lo, in terms of the following

"ORDER OF THE DAY.

"The Commissioners appointed to accompany King Charles X. and his family to Cherbourg, feel themselves called upon, at the termination of their mission, to give their testimony to the faithful and honourable manner in which the gardes-du-corps have conducted themselves on this important occasion. In fulfilling the duty which honour and fidelity required of them, they

have perfectly succeeded in reconciling it with the respect which is due to the established government. It is satisfactory to the Commissioners to be able to declare, that it is to this sentiment of propriety and reserve that they owe, in a great measure, the successful accomplishment of a mission, the issue of which was of so much importance to the honour of France.

"*Saint Lo, August* 1830.

(Signed) "Le Maréchal Marquis MAISON.
DE SCHONEN.
ODILLON-BARROT."

CHAPTER XXIII.

Account of the individuals forming the new French Administration, with a sketch of their respective lives—The Duke de Broglie—M. Dupont de l'Eure—M. Guizot—Count Gerard—Baron Louis—Count Molé—General Count Sebastiani—Messrs. Lafitte, Casimir Perier, Dupin, aîné, Benjamin Constant, and Bignon.

AFTER the episode in the history of the late revolution, which has formed the subject of the two last chapters, it is necessary to return to the point from which we set out; but, before proceeding to the last scene of the drama, it may be well to take some further notice than has yet been done, of the men who have been called to administer the affairs of the State at a period of so much difficulty and importance. If there seem any anachronism in introducing the notice in this place, it is in some degree removed by the fact that the same ministry who were appointed by the Provisional Government, and were recognized by the Lieutenant-General

of the kingdom, have remained in office after the accession of the Duke of Orleans to the throne.

The Duke de Broglie, president of the council, and secretary of state in the department of Public Instruction and of Worship, was born in 1785. He is the son of the Prince de Ravel, and consequently the grandson of the Marshal of that name. His early studies were begun at the central school of Paris, and he was only nine years of age when his father ascended the scaffold. When yet a youth, he applied himself with ardour to literary pursuits, and wrote habitually for the public journals, in a style which was characterized by a degree of firmness and vigour which arrested the public attention. When Napoleon, who sought to sustain his power by means of all who recommended themselves through birth, fortune, or talents, called a number of young men to the council of state in the capacity of auditors, he cast his eyes on the Duke de Broglie, and attached him to the section of the Interior.

After fulfilling a variety of administrative functions up to the period of the restoration, in the countries occupied by the armies of France, he amassed a fund of information which he now applies to the great social theory of government, not without being stigmatized by the opponents of his ministry, as being a *doc-*

trinaire in principle—a term which is nearly synonymous with that of theorist in its most unfavourable acceptation; and, as applied politically, is placed in opposition to those tastes and habits which point to practical, rather than to radical reform.

In the month of June, 1814, the Duke de Broglie was raised to the peerage; but being then only in his twenty-ninth year, he was disqualified from taking part in the deliberations of the Chamber. His first public appearance was on the occasion of the trial of the unfortunate Marshal Ney—an opportunity which he seized, with all the enthusiasm of his character, to struggle, with the courage of conviction, in favour of the accused. Soon afterwards, he boldly attacked the numerous exceptions of the celebrated act of amnesty—those exceptions by which it was in fact converted into an act of proscription.

About this period he obtained in marriage the hand of the daughter of Madame de Staël, and granddaughter of Necker, the finance minister of Louis XVI. This union was contracted in Italy, the ceremony having been performed first by a Catholic priest, and afterwards by a Protestant clergyman—a circumstance which affords some evidence of moderate and tolerant principles in matters of religion. The elevation of the Duke de Broglie to the office of premier has been regarded with public

satisfaction, much less from his hereditary titles and his illustrious descent—advantages which are not now regarded in France at more than their just value,—than from the rank which he has created for himself by his personal merit, and from the extent of his acquirements, which peculiarly fit him for the special department to which he has been appointed, including, as it does, the superintendence of the University, and the general system of education in France.

M. Dupont de l'Eure, the keeper of the seals, is decidedly the most popular member of the new administration. Born at Nieubourg, in 1767, Jacques Charles Dupont was admitted as an advocate by the parliament of Normandy, in 1789. He soon embraced the cause of the people as distinguished from that of the privileged classes, and asserted their rights with an intrepidity and perseverance which fully proved the sincerity of his attachment to the interests of public liberty. Throughout a life of activity and usefulness, he has never failed to conciliate the respect and esteem of his fellow-citizens. Appointed in succession to the mayoralty of his commune, to the administration of the district of Louviers, to the office of substitute for the commissioner of the executive directory, to that of counsellor in the appellant tribunal of Rouen, and finally, to the presidency of the criminal tribunal of Evereux; he has proved himself, in every department

through which he has passed, a devoted citizen, and a just and faithful functionary. When called to the presidency of the imperial court of Rouen, the qualities which so eminently distinguish the character of M. Dupont—his sound judgment, and his severe integrity—were not less conspicuous than they had ever been throughout his public career. But M. Pasquier, who had himself been prefect of police under the government of Napoleon, thought it necessary, at the restoration, to remove M. Dupont from the presidency, without the smallest pension, after twenty-seven years of administrative, judicial, and legislative services.

Since the year 1817, the esteem of his fellow-citizens has secured him a seat in the Chamber of Deputies. It was during his first session that he so energetically supported the principle which, under his auspices, as ministerial head of the judicial departments, is now about to be carried into effect—that the intervention of a jury should be indispensable in the trial of all political offences, and particularly of those of the press. Faithful to his own duties as a representative of the people, Joseph M. Dupont never ceased to oppose, with all his energy and influence, the arbitrary acts of a ministry whose object, too evidently, was to destroy the institutions of the country, and to pave the way for the introduction of absolute power. He could never witness the unconstitutional measures which were so

often presented to the consideration of the Chamber, without mounting the tribune, and, with that talent for invective which he so eminently possesses, exposing them, in terms of virtuous indignation, to the hatred and contempt of his colleagues, and of the nation. To enumerate his public appearances would be to refer to every occasion when a question of constitutional importance, or of public interest, was at issue. Supported by such men as the venerable Labbey de Pompières, M. Benjamin Constant, and M. Mechin, his voice was to be heard in the cause of freedom, during a period when the very word had become displeasing to a great majority of the representatives of the people.

With the office of keeper of the seals, M. Dupont now holds that of minister secretary of state in the department of justice, for the duties of which he is peculiarly qualified by his previous habits as a judge, a legislator, and an eminent *publiciste*. The situation which he now occupies, in place of being regarded as a recompense for past services, is held, as it ought to be, an additional guarantee for the future prosperity of his country.

The minister of the home department, M. Guizot, occupies a very different place in public estimation from that of M. Dupont. He was born at Nismes, in 1787, and, after applying himself at Geneva to the study of German literature,

he went to Paris, where he became a regular contributor to several of the public journals, and particularly to that of "The Empire." At the period of the restoration, he was admitted into office, and became the secretary general, or rather the director of the Abbé Montesquieu, then minister of the interior. He followed the King to Ghent, and, after the second restoration, he became secretary general in the department of justice, and master of requests in extraordinary service. In 1816, he resigned the office of secretary general on being appointed master of requests in ordinary service; and, on the re-organization of the ministry in 1817, he was raised to the dignity of counsellor of state, under the ministry of M. Decazes; he was appointed a royal commissioner, to support, at the bar of the Chamber of Deputies, the law which was then introduced on the subject of the periodical press. The service which he then performed to the ministry was appropriately rewarded by his appointment to the censorship—a circumstance which sufficiently accounts for his present want of popularity.

The retirement of M. Decazes brought with it that of his protegé, M. Guizot, who applied himself with renewed ardour to his former duties as a writer for the public press; and, for several years, under the protection of the faculty of letters, he delivered a course of lectures on the subject of general history, which were numer-

ously attended, and were well worthy of being so.

M. Guizot is unquestionably a man of talent and erudition; and, like most public men in France, he writes much better than he speaks. Independently of his more ephemeral productions, his dictionary of synonymes, his lives of the French poets of the age, and of Louis XIV., and his Essays on the liberty of the press, and on the history and present state of public education in France, are all well worthy of attention. It is understood that for many years M. Guizot has renounced his former political heresies; but the sin of the censorship has left a stain on his public character, which is, perhaps, incompatible with his strength or efficiency as a minister of the crown; yet such was the opinion which had been formed of his political regeneration, when returned as a deputy, in 1828, that his election was regarded as a triumph for the constitutional party. At the date of the revolution he was one of the proprietors of the new journal, "Le Temps."

Etienne Maurice, Count Gerard, Maréchal de France, and minister at war, was born at Damvilliers, in the department of the Meuse, on the 4th of April, 1773. He is regarded in the present cabinet as the representative of the army, or rather of those interests which had their origin under the reign of Napoleon. In his eighteenth

year he entered as a volunteer in the 2nd battalion of the regiment which was raised in his native department. He soon obtained the rank of sub-lieutenant; and, having been successively promoted to a lieutenancy and a captaincy in the army of Dumouriez, he so distinguished himself at the battle of Fleurus, at the affairs of the Sambre-et-Meuse, and especially at the passage of the Roër, as to be appointed aide-de-camp to General Bernadotte, and colonel and commandant of the Legion of Honour. He accompanied Bernadotte in all his campaigns in Italy, and on the Rhine; was general of brigade during the war in Prussia; general of division after the Russian campaign; commander of the 11th corps of the grand army before the battle of Leipsic; commander-in-chief of the reserves of Paris, towards the end of 1813; inspector general of infantry before the first restoration; peer of France; and commander of the army of the Moselle, during the hundred days.

It was at the celebrated battle of the Moskwa, and in the subsequent retreat, that General Gerard earned his chief title to military renown. After the death of General Gudin, who was killed in the engagement, he succeeded to the command of the 2nd division, and gathered new laurels at the bridge of Frankfort, on the Oder, by the overthrow of a great part of the Russian cavalry who attempted to intercept him

on the route to Berlin. Dieuville, Nogent, Naugis, and Montereau, became the scenes of subsequent exploits; and at Troyes, where he commanded in 1814, he succeeded in preserving the town from conflagration, by the skill he displayed in treating with General Wrede, who afterwards occupied the place on the part of the Allies.

On the abdication of Napoleon, General Gerard took the oath of fidelity to Louis XVIII., by whom he was entrusted with the difficult and important duty of bringing back into France the *corps d'armée*, which was then at Hamburgh. As a reward for its successful execution, he was appointed chevalier of Saint Louis, and grand cross of the Legion of Honour.

During the hundred days, he was intrusted with the functions of inspector general at Strasbourg, from whence he proceeded to Belfort to act as governor of the town. It was after he had been appointed to the command of the army of the Moselle, that he distinguished himself at the battle of Ligny; and the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo is generally ascribed by Frenchmen to Marshal Grouchy's neglect of the advice which was offered to him by General Gerard on the morning of the 18th of June. He joined the Marshal about eleven o'clock, at the village of Walin, where, on hearing the artillery in the direction of the forest of Soignies, the truth at once occurred to him that a general

engagement had begun, and he proposed to Grouchy to proceed to the assistance of the Emperor, from whom they were about three leagues distant. These facts having been disputed by the friends of Grouchy, have been publicly stated by General Gerard himself, in a manner, and accompanied by evidence, which forbid all doubt as to their authenticity.

When Paris had capitulated after the battle of Waterloo, General Gerard was one of the general officers appointed by the army to present their submission to the King. In 1816 he was resident at Brussels, and was then married to Mademoiselle de Valence, the grand-daughter of Madame de Genlis. On his return to France, in 1817, he went to reside on his estate of Villers, in the department of the Oise, where he lived in retirement until the year 1821, when he was elected a deputy by the department of the Seine. In 1828 he was re-elected for the two departments of the Oise, and the Dordogne, between which he took his option of sitting for the latter. In the Chamber, General Gerard has always taken his seat at the extreme left, and, by the late administration, was regarded, with reason, as one of their most formidable opponents. It was he, however, who, during the hundred days, solicited an employment for his predecessor in the war department, the too celebrated General Bourmont—offering, it is said, to answer with

his head for Bourmont's fidelity. The great man's answer to the application, discovered his distrust: "Mon cher Gérard," he said, "qui a été blanc restera blanc: qui a été bleu restera bleu;" but he yielded at length to the general's importunity, and was doubtless much less surprised than Gerard at the base desertion of Bourmont on the field of Waterloo.

The minister of finance, Baron Louis, was born at Toul, in the department of the Meurthe, in the year 1755, and was clerk to the parliament of Paris at the period of the revolution of 1789. Before that period he had evinced his predilection for the new order of things, by the constitutional zeal he displayed in the year 1788, in the provincial assembly of Orleans; and when Talleyrand, then the Bishop of Autun, performed his celebrated mass at the Champ de Mars on the 14th of July, 1790, M. Louis assisted as a deacon in conducting the ceremony. Soon after this period, he was employed by Louis XVI. in several important diplomatic missions. At the commencement of the reign of terror he retired to England, and did not appear again in France until Napoleon had established himself in power. Under the patronage of Talleyrand, he became an *employé* in the war department, and afterwards in the chancellerie of the Legion of Honour. At a later period he was appointed

master of requests in the Council of State, and in 1810 was named president of the Council of Liquidation in Holland. In 1814, before the fall of Bonaparte, he was appointed minister of finance, and retained the office under the restored government, where he submitted to the Chamber the united budget for the years 1814 and 1815.

On the re-appearance of Napoleon, M. Louis accompanied the King to Ghent; and, on the second restoration, he resumed his former place in the ministry, but retained it only for three months, when he was succeeded by M. Corvetto. He had then a seat in the Chamber of Deputies, as the representative of his native department, Meurthe, and consoled himself for his loss of office by voting steadily against the administration. He returned to place in 1818, but again retired from it in the following year; soon after which he was returned to the Chamber by the department of the Seine. Since that period he has constantly sitten on the benches of the left, and has been faithful to the principles of the constitutional party.

The minister for foreign affairs, Louis Mathieu Count Molé, was born in 1780. Like several other members of the Cabinet, his first public appearance was that of a political writer. His "Essais de Morale et de Politique" created for him a name which secured him the attention of

the Imperial Government, by which he was first appointed auditor to the council of state, then master of requests, and successively counsellor of state, director-general of bridges and highways, and, (after the retirement of Reigner, Duke of Massa,) minister of justice, with the title of count and a peerage. He is accused of having risen so rapidly by the address with which he contrived to flatter the prejudices of his imperial master. During the first restoration, M. Molé had no ministerial employment; but, as a member of the municipal body of Paris, he signed the address presented by that body to the King a few days before the 20th of March, 1815. On the return of Napoleon from Elba, he resumed the direction of the bridges and highways, and his place in the council of state; but he refused to sign the famous declaration of the 25th of March, or to take any part in the deliberations of that sitting of the council —a circumstance which did not hinder Napoleon from creating him a peer of France.

Having withdrawn from public affairs, he retired to the waters of Plombières, where he remained until after the battle of Waterloo; but, in spite of the delicacy of his health, which had been the apology for his retirement, he was one of the first in Paris to compliment the King on his return. This promptitude did not long remain unrewarded; his rank as a counsellor of

state, his former office of director-general of bridges and highways, his title and his peerage, being immediately secured to him.

On the trial of Marshal Ney, M. Molé voted with the majority. When Mons. Gouvion de Saint Cyr became minister of war, Mons. Molé received the portfolio of the marine department; an office for which, in popular estimation, he was as little fitted as for that of foreign affairs, with which he is at present invested.

The minister of marine, General Count Horace François Sébastiani, was born in the island of Corsica, on the 11th of November, 1775, and is related, according to some of the biographers of Napoleon, to the Bonaparte family. At an early age he embraced the military profession, and soon rose to the rank of colonel. The talents he displayed in the campaigns of Germany and Spain induced Napoleon to employ him, with the rank of lieutenant-general, on a diplomatic mission to the Levant, the ostensible object of which was the re-establishment of a good understanding between Sweden and the Regency of Tripoli, but with secret instructions to inquire into the state of Egypt and Syria, and of the Barbary States, at the period when he meditated their occupation, as subservient to his views on British India. Although this mission was not attended with any practical results, it had the effect of proving to Napoleon that his agent was as active,

adroit, and intelligent in the mysteries of diplomacy, as he was able, resolute, and circumspect in the field of battle. After the battle of Austerlitz, Sebastiani was appointed ambassador to Constantinople, where he is said to have saved the Turkish capital from the bombardment which was prepared for it by an English squadron, (which with that view had passed the Dardanelles,) by the dexterity with which, under his instructions, the Turkish negociations were conducted with the British commander. On his return to France, he received the rewards which were due to him, and was soon afterwards sent to Spain, from whence he went to join the army in Germany, when preparing for the celebrated campaign in Russia, in the whole of which Sebastiani was actively employed.

He did not enter into the service of the restored government, but promptly rejoined Napoleon on his return from Elba. It was then that he commenced his career as legislator, having been elected as the representative of the department of the Aisne; but the Chamber was dissolved on the approach of the Allies, and he left France at the period of the second restoration, and remained for a year in England. In 1819, he was re-elected a deputy by the electoral college of his native island, and since then has never ceased to have a seat in the Chamber, where he has constantly voted with the party of the *côté*

gauche. His talents as a statesman undoubtedly entitle him to a seat in the cabinet; and his appointment would have been highly popular, but for a feeling, which is not unnatural, that the department of Marine should have been entrusted to a naval officer, such as De Rigny, or Duperré, in preference to one who has been educated in a service, between which and the navy there is supposed to exist a latent feeling of jealousy.

Besides the ministers entrusted with portfolios, there are four other members of the cabinet, who, without any active duties, have a voice in its deliberations, and partake in its general responsibility.

At the head of these may be placed M. Lafitte, the eminent banker, a native of Bayonne, where he was born in the year 1767. He applied himself, at a very early age, to commercial pursuits, having been educated in the house of Perrigaux, the banker, who was not long in giving him a personal interest in his business. After the death of M. Perrigaux, M. Lafitte continued for ten years to take the active management of the business, while the son of his former principal became a sleeping partner in the concern. Under his management the business of the house was so much increased as to have at length become one of the first in Europe.

M. Lafitte was first elected a deputy in 1815; and, at the period of the second capitulation of

Paris in that year, when the public treasury was exhausted, he advanced from his own resources a sum of two millions of francs for the purpose of securing the internal peace of the country by facilitating the retreat of the French army beyond the Loire. In 1820, he accepted the office of governor of the bank of France, but refused the emoluments attached to it—an instance of disinterestedness which was not imitated by his successor the Duke de Gaëté.

Having risen to the rank which he now holds in the state by his own personal merit, M. Lafitte has been often assailed by the calumnies of those who are jealous of his well-earned reputation. He has been accused of employing an abler pen than his own in preparing for his public appearances in the Chamber; when he performs a good or generous action, it is ascribed to unworthy feelings of ostentation; and when his daughter was married to the son of Marshal Ney, the insinuation was not spared, that it was that he might atone for his own plebeian origin, by having a prince for a son-in-law. But he can well afford to treat such unworthy imputations with contempt, and to throw into the opposite scale his unblemished character for integrity and disinterestedness, and the able manner in which he has fulfilled the duties of president of the Chamber of Deputies, inconsistent as they are with the use of those borrowed speeches, which are said, with

some show of probability, to be not unfrequently delivered at the tribunes of the French legislative Chambers.

M. Casimir Perier, another member of the Cabinet, without any special department, is, like M. Lafitte, a banker by profession. He is the son of Claude Perier, a rich merchant of Grenoble, where he was born in the month of October, 1777. His first profession was that of arms; having served as an engineer in the Italian campaigns of 1799 and 1800. He soon afterwards abandoned the military profession, and, in connexion with his brother Scipio, established a banking-house in Paris; but has not confined himself exclusively to financial transactions, having engaged extensively in various departments of commerce and manufactures, particularly those of cotton spinning, glass making, and the refining of sugar—a department of industry which is very extensively pursued in the neighbourhood of the capital.

In the month of October, 1817, on the very day when he became eligible as a deputy, by the attainment of his fortieth year, he was chosen by the electors of the Seine, as one of their representatives; since which period, he has boldly and steadily opposed the measures of each successive cabinet, up to the date of the revolution, and is justly regarded as one of the ablest speakers in the Chamber to which he belongs. M. Casimir

Perier has three brothers in the Chamber; Augustin, who sits for the Isère; Alexandre, for the Loiret; and Camille, for the Sarthe. He is himself the representative of the department of the Aube. He was called to the chair of the Chamber of Deputies as soon as it was constituted, at the period of the revolution, but the state of his health compelled him soon after to resign—when M. Lafitte was elected by a very great majority.

André Marie Jean Jacques Dupin, better known by the name of M. Dupin, aîné, to distinguish him from his younger brothers, was born at Varzy, in the department of the Nièvre, on the 1st of February, 1783. His early education was conducted by his mother, and completed under the superintendence of his father, Charles André Dupin, a member of the first legislative assembly, on obtaining his liberation from the prisons of the reign of terror. At that unhappy period there could not be said to be any thing like public education in France. On the re-establishment of the schools of law, M. Dupin, aîné, took his degrees, and, having sustained the first thesis as a graduate, found himself, at twenty-three years of age, the senior of all the doctors of the modern schools. After practising for eight years at the bar, he stood as a candidate, in 1810, for the chairs of several professorships which were then vacant; but although his repu-

tation was already great as an author, as well as a lawyer and an orator, he did not succeed in these objects of his ambition. In 1812 he was proposed to the government by M. Merlin, procureur-general, for the office of avocat-general, in the Court of Cassation, but was again unsuccessful, M. Jaubert having obtained the appointment, through the influence of M. Fontanes. Soon afterwards M. Dupin was added, by the grand judge, the Duke de Massa, to the celebrated commission entrusted with the important task of arranging and classifying the laws of the empire.

In 1815 he was elected a deputy by his native department of the Nièvre, and boldly combated the opinion of those who proposed to give to Napoleon the title of "Saviour of the Country." He insisted on the Chamber declaring itself a national assembly, opposed the proclamation of Napoleon II., and submitted as the formula of the oath to be taken by the members of the Provisional Government—"I swear obedience to the laws, and fidelity to the nation."

After the second restoration, he was appointed President of the electoral colleges of Chateau-Chinon, and of Clamecy, through the influence of the royalist party, with a view to his re-election to the Chamber of Deputies; but was unsuccessful in both cases, and was not provided with a seat until the year 1827, when he was returned

by three different colleges, those of the department of the Sarthe, and of two of the arrondissements of the Nièvre. In the mean time, however, he was in some degree compensated by his success at the bar, which has been as brilliant as it must have been lucrative. He was entrusted with the defence of Marshal Ney, of Generals Alix, Savary, Gilly, Caulaincourt, and Porest de Morvan, and of Messrs. Boyer, Fievée, Bavoux, Mêrillion, de Jouy, Madier, de Montjean de Beranger, and de Pradt, all accused of political offences. He was also counsel for Sir Robert Wilson, and Messrs. Hutchinson and Bruce, when put on their defence for assisting in the escape of M. de Lavalette. His superior talents induced the ministry of 1819 to offer him the office of under secretary of state, in the department of justice, with the title of master of requests; but, having refused to connect himself with that administration, he was soon afterwards appointed by the Duke of Orleans a member of his royal highness's council.

With all his talents, however, (and they are undoubtedly of the very first order,) public opinion is far from being unanimous as to his political integrity. The royalists think him a concealed Jacobin, and the liberals regard him as little better than a Jesuit; but he must be a strange Jesuit, who thunders against the order like M. Dupin in his public declamations; and as strange a Jacobin, to

walk as he does, uncovered, in the processions of the church, and to maintain a private chapel, with all its adjuncts, on his estate. Since the date of the revolution, M. Dupin has been violently attacked by all the liberal journalists, for the want of resolution he is supposed to have evinced in the first days of the struggle; and he has thought it necessary to publish a defence, which, as a piece of special pleading, is ingenious, if not conclusive, and well calculated to maintain his high character as a lawyer; although it has not certainly been very successful in giving him the place which he desires to occupy in public estimation, as an unflinching supporter of the principles of the revolution.

Henri Benjamin Constant de Rebecque, the president of the committee of legislation, and of administrative justice, and one of the members of the cabinet, was born at Lausanne, in the year 1767. He belongs to a family of Protestant refugees, who are said to be descended from a Baron Augustin Constant, who, after having saved the life of Henry IV., abandoned his standard, on that Prince declaring himself a convert to the Catholic religion. After M. Constant had completed his studies at the universities of Gottingen and Edinburgh, he was employed for some time at the court of the Grand Duke of Brunswick, which he left in 1795, to come to Paris, where he became connected with some of

the most distinguished men of the period. His first literary production was a work published in 1796, entitled, " De la force du gouvernement actuel de la France, et de la necessité de s'y rallier," which procured him the acquaintance of Madame de Staël, a friendship which he retained until her death. In 1798 he became a member of the " club de salut," and continued to oppose the successive assumptions of arbitrary power by the conqueror of Italy. He was, in consequence, sent into exile, which he shared with his illustrious friend the authoress of Corinna, with whom he travelled over various countries of Europe, and ended by fixing himself at Gottingen, where, in 1808, he married a young lady of the family of Hardenberg. M. Constant did not return to France until the date of the restoration, when he published a number of papers favourable to liberty, and consequently hostile to the power of Napoleon. After the return of the Emperor from Elba, he was induced to accept the office of counsellor of state, and is accused of having assisted in the preparation of the celebrated " Acte additionel aux constitutions de l'Empire." On the final overthrow of the power of Napoleon by the battle of Waterloo, he returned first to Brussels, and afterwards to England, where he remained until after the 5th of September, 1816, when he returned to France, and applied himself to literary pursuits, which

have chiefly been directed to the department of politics. In 1819, he was chosen as a deputy by the electors of the Sarthe, in spite of all the efforts of the ministry to defeat his return. In 1824, he was re-elected by the department of the Seine, when his return was opposed by M. Dudon, on the ground of his being disqualified by the place of his birth; an objection which was ultimately over-ruled.

The personal appearance of M. Constant is far from prepossessing. Although not perceptibly lame, he uses a crutch in walking, in consequence of weakness in his limbs. His hair is red, and he wears it so long as to hang down over his shoulders. He uses spectacles habitually, and, in speaking, he is so precipitate, and his voice is so rough, that he is not understood without great difficulty. Yet with all these disadvantages, his countenance is mild, open, ingenuous, and intelligent; his manners are those of a man of letters rather than a man of the world: in conversation he is lively and unaffected; and, as Dupin has been said to resemble Brougham in the extent of his acquirements, although far behind his illustrious rival in moral reputation — so has Constant been placed by his Parisian contemporaries on a level with Sir James Mackintosh.

M. Bignon was born at la Meilleraie, in the department of the Seine Inferieure, in 1771.

He is of a distinguished family, and, although extremely well educated, he resolved, in 1793, to enter the army as a private soldier. He found himself in the 128th demi-brigade, under the command of General Huet, who soon attached him to his own person in the capacity of private secretary. After five years of military service, he entered on the diplomatic career, and in 1799 was appointed secretary to the Prussian legation; after which he became chargé-d'affaires at Berlin, and, in 1803, was appointed minister plenipotentiary at the court of the Elector of Hesse Cassel. In 1807, he was named military intendant of Berlin; and afterwards, in conjunction with Count Daru, was placed at the head of the administration of the armies in the Austrian territory. In 1810, he was the French resident at Warsaw, having been employed by Napoleon to stir up the insurrection of the Poles against the Russians, for which purpose he proceeded to Wilna as the commissioner of the Imperial Government. He is said to have displayed the greatest talent and intelligence in the performance of this mission; but, on the retreat of the French army, he was made a prisoner at Dresden.

During the first restoration he remained unemployed; but having been elected a deputy, in 1815, by the department of the Seine Inferieure, he was entrusted, during the hundred days, with

the portfolio of foreign affairs, which he abandoned on the entrance of the Allies into Paris; and he has never since held any official appointment. In 1822, M. Bignon lost his seat in the Chamber, but in 1827 was re-elected by the College of Rouen. He is universally respected for the steadiness with which he has maintained his constitutional principles; and, besides being an author of some repute, has the honour of being exempted from the place which has been given to more than one of his ministerial colleagues in the "Dictionnaire des Girouettes."

CHAPTER XXIV.

Convocation of the Legislative Body—Account of the ceremony observed on the occasion—Cordial reception of the Duke of Orleans—His speech to the assembled Peers and Deputies—Letter from the Commissioners sent to Rambouillet—Separate meetings of the two Chambers—Proceedings and speeches of the Members—The Declaration of Rights presented to the Duke of Orleans by the Deputies—Enthusiasm manifested on the occasion.

The 3rd of August was the day originally named by Charles X. for the convocation of the legislative body. According to former usage, the royal sitting should have taken place in the palace of the Louvre, which was selected as a place where the Peers and the Deputies could meet on neutral ground. At ten o'clock on the morning of the day thus appointed, the meeting accordingly took place; but, as if to indicate the ascendancy which had been produced by the events of the revolution in favour of the representatives of the people, it was not at the Louvre, or the Luxembourg, that this important meeting was held, but in the tempo-

rary wooden building prepared for the accommodation of the representatives of the people.

At a very early hour in the morning, the various approaches to the Palais Bourbon, where this building is situated, were besieged by an anxious crowd: and as soon as the doors were opened, the galleries, which are destined for the public accommodation, were instantly filled. The chair of the president, the table of the secretaries, and the tribune, from which the members address the Chamber, were, on this occasion, removed, to make way for a magnificent chair of state, which, with two *tabourets* for the Princes, occupied that portion of the hall. The throne, with its splendid canopy of velvet, was the same which had formerly been employed at the Louvre; and, as it was adorned with golden fleurs de lis, and other distinctions peculiar to the house of Bourbon, a number of three-coloured banners were so arranged, as to mask the insignia of the repudiated family.

In front of the throne were the two stools of privilege; one for the Duke of Orleans, as Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, on the right, and the other for the Duke de Nemours, his second son, on the left of the throne. The chair of the Chancellor of France, covered with violet-coloured velvet, was placed on the left of the seat appropriated to the Duke de Nemours. One of the galleries was reserved for the Duchess

of Orleans and the Princesses of her family, and another for the *corps diplomatique.* In the latter, although no regular accredited ambassador appeared, there were five secretaries, two chargés d'affaires, the one of Denmark, and the other of the United States of America, and a great number of the attachés to the various embassies.

Soon after the public galleries had been filled, the Deputies, and especially those of the *côté gauche,* began to enter. At a later hour in the morning, a small group arrived, including M. Berryer, M. Jacquinot Pamplune, M. de Meffrey, M. de Conny, M. de Murat, M. de Boisbertrand, M. de Belissen, M. Bizien du Lézard, M. d'Autpoul, and M. Roger, who were all that now remained to represent the former party of the *coté droit,* now described as the *Carlists.*

About twelve o'clock, the Peers began to arrive; and among their number were observed the Dukes de Mortemart, de Bellune, de Valmy, de Choiseul, de Caraman, and de Trevise; the Marechal Jourdan, the Marquis de Dreux Brézé, and the Viscount de Chateaubriand, Messrs. Portalis, Seguier, Pasquier, Chaptal, de Montalivet, de Simonville, Lanjuinais, Roy, and Bastard de l'Estang. The costume of the legislative chambers was not worn on this occasion, either by Peers or Deputies; blue and black were the prevailing colours: the grand cordon of the Legion of Honor was occasionally visible, but the blue

ribbon had entirely disappeared. M. Lafitte and General Lafayette arrived about the same moment, and had engaged the general attention, when the guns of the Invalides gave notice of the approach of the Duke of Orleans. His Royal Highness was preceded by the Duchess and her daughters, who took their places in the gallery reserved for them. On a given signal, the two grand deputations from the Peers and the Deputies, whose names had previously been drawn by ballot, went out to receive the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom at the foot of the principal staircase; the one with M. Lafitte, as vice-president, and the other with M. de Simonville, as grand referendary, at its head, in the absence of M. Perier, the President of the Chamber of Deputies, and of the Chancellor of France, the President of the Chamber of Peers. The Commissioners then entrusted provisionally with the different departments of the ministry, remained with the officers of the Prince's household, at the inner entrance of the hall.

The Duke, on his entrance, was received with unanimous acclamations of "Vive le Prince, Lieutenant General! Vive le Duc d'Orleans!" He was dressed in a military uniform, and, on his reaching the tabouret assigned to him, he put on his hat—a circumstance which excited some criticism at the period—and, addressing himself to the two legislative bodies without dis-

tinction, desired them to be seated. The old ceremonial consisted in the King's turning round to the Chamber of Peers, and saying, "*Messieurs, asseyez-vous ;*" after which, the Chancellor, addressing the Deputies, informed them that his Majesty permitted them to take their seats. The most perfect silence prevailed within the hall; but the artillery of the Invalides continued to peal in salvos while the Prince pronounced the following speech :

"MESSIEURS LES PAIRS, ET MESSIEURS LES DEPUTÉS !

"Paris, disturbed in its repose by a deplorable violation of the charter and the laws, defended them with an heroic courage ! In the midst of this bloody struggle, the guarantees of social order no longer existed. Persons, property, rights, all that is precious and dear to men and citizens, were exposed to the most imminent danger.

"In the absence of all public power, the wishes of my fellow-citizens have been directed towards me. They have deemed me worthy of concurring with them in saving the country; they have invited me to exercise the functions of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom.

"To me their cause has appeared to be just; the perils immense, the necessity imperative, my duty sacred. I hastened into the midst of this valiant people, followed by my family, and wearing those colours, which, for the second time, have marked among us the triumph of liberty.

"I have come with the firm resolution of devoting my efforts to every thing that circumstances might require of me, in the situation in which I have been placed, to re-establish the empire of the laws, save, protect endangered liberty, and render the recurrence impossi-

ble of such great evils, by securing for ever the power of that charter, whose name, invoked during the combat, was repeated after victory.

" In the fulfilment of this noble task, it belongs to the Chambers to guide me. Every right should be substantially guaranteed; all the institutions necessary to their full and free exercise should receive the developments of which they have need. Attached with my whole heart, and from conviction, to the principles of a free government, I accept all its consequences beforehand. I deem it my duty, even now, to call your attention to the organization of the National Guards, the application of the Jury to offences by the press, the formation of departmental and municipal administrations, and, above all, to the 14th Article of the Charter, which has been so odiously interpreted.

" With these sentiments, Gentlemen, I come to open this Session.

" The past is painful to me; I deplore disasters which I should have wished to prevent; but in the midst of this magnanimous excitement of the capital, and of all other French cities, at the aspect of order reviving with such astonishing promptitude, after a resistance free from all excess, a just national pride affects my heart, and I look with confidence on the future destiny of the country.

" Yes, Gentlemen, this land of France, so dear to me, will be happy and free: it will prove to Europe, that, solely engaged in promoting its internal prosperity, it cherishes peace as much as liberty, and only wishes for the happiness and repose of its neighbours.

" Respect for the rights of all, attention to every interest, and good faith in the Government, are the best means of disarming parties, and of restoring to the public mind that confidence, and to the institutions that stability, which are the only sure pledges of the happiness of the people, and the strength of states.

"Peers and Deputies!—As soon as the Chambers are constituted, I will communicate to you the act of abdication of his Majesty King Charles X.; by the same act, his Royal Highness Louis Antoine of France, the Dauphin, likewise renounces his rights. This act was placed in my hands last night, the 2nd of August, at eleven o'clock. This morning, I have ordered it to be deposited among the archives of the Chamber of Peers, and to be inserted in the official part of the *Moniteur*."

The acclamations with which the Duke had been received on his entrance were renewed at the conclusion of his speech. On his rising to retire, the two grand deputations surrounded him, and accompanied him to the outer entrance, where he and the Duke de Nemours mounted their horses amidst a detachment of the National Guards *à cheval*. The Duchess and her daughters followed in an open carriage, drawn by a pair of horses, and escorted by a party of young men on horseback, wearing three-coloured scarfs. The procession returned as it came, by the quays, the Pont Royal, and the Place de Carrousel, to the Palais Royal, the band playing the favourite airs of the "Marseillaise" and "La Victoire est à nous."

On the following morning, the Prince Lieutenant-General received the following letter from the Commissioners who had been sent to Rambouillet, communicating the happy and bloodless issue of that extraordinary expedition :—

"MONSEIGNEUR,

"We are happy to announce to you the success of our mission. The King has resolved to depart with all his family. We shall bring you all the incidents and details of the journey with the utmost exactness. May it end happily! We take the road to Cherbourg, and are to set out in half an hour. All the troops are sent towards Epernon, and to-morrow morning it will be determined which of them shall definitively follow the King.

"We are, with respect and devotedness, Monseigneur, &c.

(Signed) "LE MARÉCHAL MAISON.
"ODILLON-BARROT.
"DE SCHONEN.

"*Rambouillet, 3d August*, 10 *o'clock*, P. M."

The publication of this letter, and of the speech of the Duke of Orleans at the opening of the session, contributed materially to the restoration of public tranquillity, after the renewal of the excitement produced by the obstinacy of Charles X. and the measures which had been found necessary to hasten his departure.

On the 4th of August the two legislative bodies assembled in their respective chambers. The sitting of the Députies was confined to the appointment of committees, and to the arrange-

ment of those preliminary forms required by the constitution of the Chamber, for facilitating the progress of the business of the session. In former years these forms had generally occupied a period of eight or ten days; but on this occasion they were completed on the 4th of August, when the Chamber adjourned to the 6th, in order to afford some interval of preparation for the important business which was then to be transacted.

The Peers, after appointing the Marquis de Montemart, the Duke de Plaisance, Marshal Maison, and Count Lanjuinais, secretaries of the Chamber, proceeded to ballot for a committee to prepare an address in answer to the Lieutenant-General's opening speech. In the course of the debate which arose on this question, a speech was delivered by the Duke de Choiseul, of which the following is an abstract.

"Under the serious circumstances in which we are placed, to waver in our conduct would be culpable and pusillanimous. We can no longer confine ourselves to a mere echo of the phrases in the speech from the head of the government; we must express our sentiments with loyalty and frankness. It is to things, and not to persons, that our attention must hereafter be directed; and I am prepared to say, with M. Cazales, that if we must choose between the monarch and the monarchy, it is the monarchy alone which ought to be regarded. But we are called to the exer-

cise of higher duties—to establish the government on a solid basis, and to remove all uncertainty as to the exercise of power. The Chamber of Peers I conceive to be of incontestable necessity; but it must demonstrate that necessity by placing itself at the head of public opinion, and by recalling those glorious and happy days when, instead of being dragged in the train of power, this Chamber was honoured in public opinion by the constitutional opposition which it maintained against the measures of a ministry supported by a Chamber of Deputies distinguished by the name of '*introuvable.*' The title of Peer of France was then synonymous with that of father of the country. But times have since changed: I will not mention the causes; they are unfortunately too well known. To-day I confine myself to the proposition, that in preparing the address in answer to the speech from the head of the government, the committee should abstain from a servile repetition of the phrases of the speech; that it should lay aside those fawning protestations which it has been the fashion to introduce; and that it should express itself clearly as to the urgency of the measures to be proposed for insuring the stability of the government, and as to the importance of the laws which are required by the present order of things."

The committee on the address was composed of Counts Molé, Simeon, and d'Argout, Barons de

Barante and Seguier, the Marquises de Marbois and Jaucourt: and, after its appointment, the Chamber adjourned.

On the 6th of August, the Deputies having assembled under the presidency of M. Labbey de Pompières, the temporary chairman in right of seniority, it was announced to the Chamber that the Lieutenant-General, in obedience to the existing law, had selected M. Casimir Perier as president, from the list of candidates prepared by the Deputies at their former sitting, but that the Lieutenant-General had expressed his wish that this might be the last occasion on which such a controul should be exercised.

The chair was then taken by M. Lafitte, as one of the vice-presidents, when a letter was read from M. Perier, apologizing for his absence, and saying that the state of his health would have induced him to decline the distinguished office to which he had been nominated, had not the urgency of circumstances rendered it important that the proceedings of the Chamber should not be delayed by a new ballot. Messrs. Cunin, Gridaine, Jacqueminot, Pavée de Vandœuvre, and Jars, then took their places as secretaries.

A proposition to the following effect was read from the chair:

"I accuse of high treason the ex-ministers, authors of the report to the King, and subscribers

(contre-signataires) of the ordinances of the 26th of July.

(Signed) "EUSEBE SALVERTE."

M. Salverte having been called upon to support his proposition, stated, that as the Chamber had more important business before it, he would content himself with moving that it be referred to the committees.

M. Berard then ascended the tribune, and addressed the Chamber to the following effect:

"The people of France were united to their monarch by a solemn tie, which has just been torn asunder. The violator of the contract can have no right to claim its execution. It is in vain that Charles X. and his son affect to transmit a right which no longer belongs to them. That right has been dissolved in the blood of thousands of victims. The deed of abdication communicated to the Legislature is but a new act of perfidy; the semblance of legality with which it is clothed, is a mere deception; it has been thrown among us, that it may become a brand of discord. We have been called upon by the same law of necessity, which placed arms in the hands of the citizens of Paris for the resistance of oppression, to adopt a Prince for our temporary chief, who is a sincere friend to free institutions. We are required by the same necessity to adopt, without delay, a permanent chief as the

head of the government. But, however implicit the confidence with which this Prince has inspired us, the rights we are chosen to defend require that we should fix the conditions on which he is to be admitted to power. Repeatedly and shamefully deceived, we are warranted in stipulating for the strictest terms. In some respects our institutions are incomplete, in others they are vicious; it is our duty to extend and purify them. The Prince now at our head has already done more than we have required of him; the fundamental principles of popular right have been already propounded and acknowledged; other principles, and other rights are equally indispensable, and will be equally acknowledged. We are the chosen of the people; to us they have confided their interests and their wants. Their first want, their dearest interest, is liberty and repose. They have themselves won their liberty from the hands of tyranny, by force of arms; it is for us to secure their repose, by giving them a just and stable government."

M. Berard concluded by moving a series of resolutions, by the first of which it was proposed to declare, "That the throne is vacant, and that it is indispensably necessary to make provision accordingly." By the succeeding articles it was proposed, that in pursuance of the wishes, and in furtherance of the interests of the French people, the preamble of the constitutional charter should

be suppressed, and its clauses modified in the manner detailed in the resolutions submitted to the Chamber. The modifications ultimately adopted will at once be understood by the comparative view of the old and the new charter, which will be found at the end of the volume. By the last of M. Berard's resolutions, it was proposed, " That in consideration of the acceptance of the conditions proposed, the Chamber of Deputies declares, that the universal and urgent interests of the French people call to the throne his Royal Highness Louis Philippe d'Orleans, Duc d'Orleans, Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, and his descendants for ever, from male to male, in the order of primogeniture, to the perpetual exclusion of females, and their descendants.

" That his Royal Highness be therefore invited to accept, and swear to the clauses and engagements expressed in the previous resolutions, and to the observance of the constitutional charter, with the modifications thus agreed to, and, after having taken the oath, in the presence of the assembled Chambers, to assume the title of the King of the French."

After this proposition had been made by M. Berard, a discussion arose as to the subsequent forms of proceeding, in which M. Mathieu Dumas, M. Etienne, and General Demarçay, participated. It was ultimately decided that the proposition should first be referred to the ordinary

committees of the Chamber, and that it should afterwards be examined by a special committee, in connexion with that appointed to prepare the address. When these arrangements had been made, an adjournment of the Chamber took place until the evening.

On the arrival of the Deputies about eight o'clock, to attend the second extraordinary sitting of the Chamber, the avenues which lead to the building were already occupied with crowds, anxious to learn the result of the day's proceedings. These crowds were chiefly composed of young men belonging to the middle classes of society; and the exclamations in which they indulged, as the Deputies entered, were for the most part directed to the abolition of the hereditary peerage, which seems still to be associated in the public mind with that system of privilege which, under the *ancien regime*, made the French noblesse an object of popular jealousy and detestation. The agitation on the outside was regarded by some of the members as an attempt to overawe the deliberations of the Chamber. An adjournment was proposed by M. Augustin Perier; and M. Benjamin Constant having gone out to address the crowd, in the hope of tranquillizing them, the chair was taken by M. Lafitte; but, as the tumult remained undiminished, General Lafayette, after consulting with the President,

retired to second the efforts of M. Constant, by expostulating with the people on the disturbance which was thus created. The General was, as usual, received with acclamations by the crowd; and, after complimenting them on their heroism during the great week of the revolution, he added, "I am entitled, my friends, to your attention, because the opinions which have induced you to come here are my own. I know how to support them; but I fear that you may fall into errors. In addition to so many other motives, let me beg you to consider my personal feelings. I have engaged my honour that no disturbance shall interrupt the proceedings of the Chamber. Should any interruption take place, and be attended with any painful occurrence at the doors, I shall be regarded as in some degree responsible. It is with me a point of honour, and I place my honour under the protection of your friendship." This address produced the desired effect; tranquillity was restored, and the sitting was resumed at half-past eight o'clock.

The act of abdication of Charles X. having been communicated to the Chamber on the part of the government, the question arose, whether its reception should be acknowledged; and whether it should be deposited among the archives of the Chamber; both of which were ultimately resolved in the affirmative.

On the motion of M. Bavoux, supported by M. Berryer, the following resolution was adopted:

"The Chamber of Deputies votes thanks to the city of Paris; it invites the government to erect a monument, for the purpose of transmitting to the remotest posterity the event which it shall be destined to consecrate. It shall bear this inscription—*A la Ville de Paris, la patrie reconnoissante.*"

At ten o'clock the report of the committee was brought up by M. Dupin, ainé, which, with the modifications it received in passing through the Chamber, having been ultimately embodied in the charter itself, needs not here to be repeated.

After the report had been read, it was moved by M. Guizot, after an animated debate as to the propriety of proceeding forthwith to its consideration, in which M. de Corselles, M. de Rambuteau, M. Benjamin Constant, M. Eusebe Salverte, M. Mauguin, and M. Demarçay, took part, "That the report be printed and distributed, and that the Chamber do take it into consideration to-morrow morning at ten o'clock." This resolution having been adopted, the Chamber adjourned at the unusually late hour of eleven o'clock at night.

On the following morning, the 7th of August, the discussion was opened at the hour appointed.

The most remarkable speech was that of M. de Martignac, when called up by some expressions employed in supporting a resolution, "That the throne is vacant in consequence of the violation of the Charter and the laws." M. Podenas took occasion to observe, "that the ex-King was the worthy heir of Charles the Ninth's ferocity, but that he had not the courage to show himself in the hour of danger." "I feel compelled," said M. de Martignac, "on behalf of a family plunged in misfortune, to raise a voice which defended it in the height of its power. I could not hear the words which fell from the last speaker without the deepest sorrow. Ah, gentlemen! had you known this Prince as I have done, had you been admitted to his intimacy, you could not have heard him accused of ferocity without indignation. No, gentlemen, this man was not ferocious; he has been deceived. It was not his heart which dictated these infamous ordinances. They were the work of perfidious counsellors, whom I freely abandon to you. Let not your indignation fall upon him; but believe me, gentlemen, believe one who has lived in habits of the closest intimacy with him, that his heart was animated by the love of his country. I have not been astonished at the truly heroic resistance called forth by these iniquitous ordinances; but I ask again, why words should be uttered, after the power which produced them has fallen, which

will be an an additional sting to a heart already overwhelmed with misfortune. I do not know, gentlemen, whether in what I have said I have followed the dictates of prudence and moderation; I have consulted only my heart."

This speech was repeatedly interrupted by the applause of the *côté droit*, and the murmurs of the *côté gauche*.

Towards the conclusion of the discussion, General Lafayette addressed the Chamber to the following effect:

"In ascending this tribune to speak on a subject of such vast importance, I am neither yielding to the impulse of the moment, nor courting an idle popularity, which I shall never prefer to the suggestions of duty. It is well known that I have all my life professed republican principles; but they have not been such as to prevent me from supporting a constitutional throne, created by the will of the people. Under existing circumstances, whereby it is desirable to raise the Prince Lieutenant-General to a constitutional throne, I feel myself animated by the same sentiments; and I am bound to avow, that the more I become acquainted with the Duke of Orleans, the more perfectly does the choice fulfil my wishes. On the subject of an hereditary peerage, I do not share the opinion entertained by many of my fellow-citizens. I have always thought it necessary that the legislative body should be

divided into two Chambers, differently constituted; but I have never seen the utility of creating legislators who, in some cases, become judges, invested with hereditary rights. I have always thought that aristocracy is a bad ingredient to introduce into our public institutions. It is with great satisfaction, therefore, that I find you occupied with a project which meets the sentiments I have all my life professed. My conscience now compels me to repeat them, and to declare, that I hope shortly to see the hereditary peerage suppressed. My fellow-citizens will do me the justice to acknowledge, that if I have always maintained the principles of freedom, I have supported public order with equal uniformity."

M. Mauguin proposed that the judges should cease their functions in six months, if before that time they did not receive a new investiture; and thus argued in support of the proposition:—"Do not forget, gentlemen, that you are the offspring of revolution. It is the revolution you are now met to consecrate. A fortnight ago you were under the empire of legitimacy and divine right: to-day you are under the influence of national sovereignty. Do you think, then, that bodies which have been formed under the empire of the congregation, will support you, or offer you no resistance? No, gentlemen; the reform must descend to the lowest ranks of the magistracy.

To establish it substantially, resistance must cease everywhere. The judges, you say, are appointed for life; but did not that appointment originate in the charter of Louis XVIII? And is not that charter destroyed?"

The amendment of M. Mauguin, and a sub-amendment proposed by M. Eusebe Salverte, that the judges appointed during the reign of Charles X. should be submitted to a new organization, were successively put and rejected.

As soon as the discussion was concluded, the Deputies proceeded in a body, and on foot, to the Palais Royal, to present to the Duke of Orleans the bill of rights, or declaration of principles, which had just been agreed to. The Deputies were instantly admitted to his Royal Highness's presence, and the resolutions of the Chamber having been read by M. Lafitte, the Duke of Orleans, surrounded by his family, made the following reply:

"I receive the declaration which you now present to me, with profound emotion. I regard it as the expression of the national will; and it appears to me to be in conformity with the political principles I have all my life professed.

"Impressed with recollections which have always made me desire that I might never be destined to ascend the throne; exempt from ambition, and accustomed to the peaceful life which I lead in my family, I cannot conceal the senti-

ments which agitate my heart in this great conjuncture: but there is one which is predominant —it is the love of my country. I feel what it prescribes to me, and I shall not fail in the performance."

In delivering his answer, the Prince was affected to tears. At its conclusion, he embraced M. Lafitte, amidst enthusiastic exclamations of "Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine! Vive la famille Royale!" which burst from all present, and were repeated by the thousands collected in the courts of the palace. In answer to the call of the people, the Prince appeared on the balcony, accompanied by General Lafayette. They were both received with acclamations, which were redoubled when the Duchess of Orleans presented her children to the people. Impressed with the unanimity of feeling which was thus manifested, Lafayette took the hand of the Duke of Orleans, and exclaimed, "We have performed a good work! Here, Gentlemen, is the Prince we need! THIS IS THE BEST OF REPUBLICS!"

CHAPTER XXV.

Small share taken by the Chamber of Peers in the affairs of the Revolution—Their deliberations as to the resolutions passed by the Deputies—Chateaubriand's splendid speech on that occasion— Assent to the declaration of the Deputies, and deputation in consequence from the Peers to the Duke of Orleans—Arrival of the Duke de Chartres in Paris—Anecdote—Character of the Duke of Orleans, as described by Paul Louis Courrier.

In the last act of the drama, as at its commencement, the Chamber of Peers performed a mere secondary part. At a late hour on Saturday evening, the 7th of August, they assembled at their Palace of Luxembourg, for the professed purpose of taking into consideration the resolutions which had been passed by the Deputies; but, in effect, to register a decision which they had no power to controul. The only hesitation which they discovered in adopting the resolutions of the Representative Chamber, was expressed in a vote to the following effect.

"The Chamber of Peers declares that it can-

not deliberate on that article of the declaration of the Chamber of Deputies which provides, that all the nominations and creations of peers made during the reign of Charles X. are null and void.

"The Chamber of Peers declares that it leaves the decision of this question to the high prudence of the Prince Lieutenant-General."

The sitting was, however, distinguished by a splendid speech of the Viscount Chateaubriand, which, as no abridgment or analysis could do it justice, is here introduced entire, translated from a copy submitted to the revision of the noble Viscount.

"Gentlemen!—The declaration which has been brought to this Chamber is to me much less complicated than it appears to those of my noble colleagues who profess an opinion different from mine. There is one fact in this declaration which appears to me to govern all the others, or rather to destroy them. Were we under a regular order of things, I should doubtless carefully examine the various changes which it is proposed to make in the Charter. Many of these changes have been proposed by myself. I am only surprised that the re-actionary measure, regarding the peers created by Charles X., should have been proposed to this Chamber. I shall not be suspected of any fondness for the system by which these *batches (fournées)* were created; and you

know, that when threatened with them, I combated the very menace: but to make ourselves the judges of our colleagues, and to erase whom we please from the list of the peerage, whenever we find ourselves the stronger party, would seem to me to savour of proscription. It is thought necessary that the peerage be annihilated. Then be it so: it better becomes us to surrender our existence, than to beg for our lives.

"I reproach myself already for the few words I have uttered on a point, which, important as it is, becomes insignificant when merged in the great proposition before us. France is without a guide; and I am now to consider what must be added to or cut away from the masts of a vessel which has lost its rudder! I lay aside, then, whatever is of a secondary interest in the declaration of the Elective Chamber; and, fixing on the single enunciated fact of the vacancy of the throne, whether true or pretended, I advance directly to my object.

"But a previous question ought first to be attended to. If the throne be vacant, we are free to choose the future form of our government.

"Before offering the crown to any individual whatever, it may be well to ascertain under what political system the social body is to be constituted. Are we to establish a republic, or a new monarchy?

"Does a republic or a new monarchy offer sufficient guarantees to France, of strength, durability, and repose?

"A republic would first of all have the recollections of the republic itself to contend with. These recollections are far from being effaced. The time is not yet forgotten, when Death made his frightful progress among us, with Liberty and Equality for supporters. When plunged again into anarchy, how are you to reanimate the Hercules on his rock, who alone was able to stifle the monster? In the history of the world, there have been five or six such men. In the course of a thousand years, your posterity may see another Napoleon; but as for you, you must not expect it.

"In the present state of our manners, and of our relations with surrounding states, the idea of a republic seems to me to be wholly untenable. The first difficulty would be to bring the people to a unanimous vote on the subject. What right has the population of Paris to constrain the population of Marseilles to adopt the forms of a republic? Is there to be but one republic, or are we to have twenty or thirty? And are they to be federative or independent?

"Let us suppose these obstacles to be removed, and that there is to be but one republic. Can you imagine for a moment, with the habitual familiarity of our manners, that a pre-

sident, however grave, however talented, and however respectable he may be, could remain for a year at the head of the government, without wishing or endeavouring to retire from it? Ill protected by the laws, and unsupported by previous recollections, insulted and vilified, morning, noon, and night, by secret rivals and by the agents of faction, he would not inspire the confidence which property and commerce require; he would neither possess becoming dignity, in treating with foreign governments, nor the power which is indispensable to the maintenance of internal tranquillity. If he resorted to revolutionary measures, the republic would become odious, all Europe would become disturbed, would avail itself of the divisions which would follow, first to foment them, and afterwards to interfere in the quarrel; and the state would again be involved in an interminable struggle. A representative republic is perhaps to be the future condition of the world; but the period for its establishment has not yet arrived.

"I proceed to the question of a monarchy.

"A king, named by the Chambers, or elected by the people, whatever may be done, will always be a novelty. I take it for granted, that freedom is sought for, and especially the freedom of the press; by which, and for which, the people have obtained so brilliant a triumph.

Every new monarchy will, sooner or later, be compelled to gag this liberty. Could Napoleon himself admit of it? The offspring of our misfortunes, and the slave of our glory, the liberty of the press can only exist, in security, under a government whose roots are deeply seated. A monarchy, the illegitimate offspring of one bloody night, must always have something to fear from the free and independent expression of public opinion. While this man proclaims republican opinions, and that some equally Utopian system, is it not to be feared that laws of exception must soon be resorted to, in spite of the eight words which have been expunged from the 8th Article of the Charter?

"What, then, will the friends of regulated liberty have gained by the change which is now proposed to you? You must sink, of necessity, either at once into a republic, or into a system of legal slavery. The monarch will be surrounded and overwhelmed by factions, or the monarchy itself will be swept away by a torrent of democratical enactments.

"In the first moments of success we suppose that every thing is easy; we hope to satisfy every exigency, interest, and humour; we flatter ourselves that every one will lay aside his personal views and vanities; we believe that the superior intelligence and the wisdom of the government will surmount the innumerable diffi-

culties with which it is beset; but at the end of a few months, we find that all our theories have been belied by the event.

"I present to you, gentlemen, only a few of the inconveniences which must arise from the formation of a republic, or of a new monarchy. If either has its perils, there remains a third course; and one which well deserves your consideration.

"The crown has been trampled on by its savage ministers, who have supported, by murder, their violation of good faith. They have trifled with oaths made to heaven, and with laws sworn to on earth.

"Foreigners, who have twice entered Paris without resistance, learn the true cause of your success! You presented yourselves in the name of legal authority. If you were now to fly to the assistance of tyranny, do you think that the gates of the capital, of the civilized world, would open as readily before you? The French race has grown, since your departure, under the influence of constitutional laws; our children of fourteen years of age are a race of giants; our conscripts at Algiers, and our school-boys at Paris, have shown you that they are the sons of the conquerors of Austerlitz, Marengo, and Jena—but sons strengthened by all that liberty adds to glory.

"Never was a defence more just, or more

heroic, than that of the people of Paris. They rose, not against the law, but for the law. As long as the social compact was respected, the people remained peaceable; they bore insults, provocations, and threats, without complaining. Their property and their blood were the price they owed for the Charter, and both have been lavished in abundance. But when, after a system of falsehood pursued to the latest moment, slavery was suddenly proclaimed; when the conspiracy of folly and hypocrisy burst forth; when the panic of the palace, organized by eunuchs, was prepared as a substitute for the terror of the republic, and the iron yoke of the empire;—then it was that the people armed themselves with their courage and their intelligence. It was then found that these *shopkeepers* could breathe amidst the smoke of gunpowder, and that it required rather more than "*four soldiers and a corporal*" to subdue them. A century could not have ripened the destinies of a nation so completely as the three last suns which have shone over France. A great crime was committed, which produced the violent explosion of a powerful principle. Was it necessary, on account of this crime, and the moral and political triumph which has resulted from it, that the established order of things should be overthrown? Let us examine. Charles X. and his son have forfeited, or have abdicated, the throne,—understand it

which way you will: but the throne is not vacant; after them came a child, whose innocence ought not to be condemned.

"What blood now rises against him? Will you venture to say that it is that of his father? This orphan, educated in the schools of his country, in the love of a constitutional government, and with the ideas of the age, would have become a king well suited to our future wants. The guardian of his youth would have sworn to the declaration on which you are about to vote; on arriving at the age of majority, the young monarch would have renewed his oath. In the mean time, the actual and reigning sovereign would have been the Duke of Orleans, as regent of the kingdom; a prince who has lived among the people, and who knows, that a monarchy, in the present age, can only exist by consent and reason. This natural arrangement, as it appears to me, would have united the means of reconciliation, and would have presented the prospect of saving those agitations to France, which are too surely the result of all violent changes.

"To say that this child, when separated from his masters, would not have had time to forget their very names, before arriving at manhood; to say that he would remain infatuated with certain hereditary dignities, after a long course of popular education, and after the terrible lesson

which in two nights has hurled two kings from the throne, is, at least, not very reasonable.

"It is not from a feeling of sentimental devotedness, transmitted from the swaddling clothes of Saint Louis to the cradle of the young Henry, that I plead a cause where every thing would again turn against me if it triumphed. I am no believer in chivalry or romance. I have no faith in the right divine of royalty; but I believe in the power of facts, and of revolutions. I do not even invoke the Charter: I take my ideas from a higher source; I draw them from the sphere of philosophy, from the period at which my life terminates. I propose the Duke de Bordeaux merely as a necessity of a purer kind than that which is now in question.

"I know that, by passing over this child, it is intended to establish the principle of the sovereignty of the people; an absurdity of the old school, which proves, that our veteran democrats have advanced no farther in political knowledge than our superannuated royalists. There is no absolute sovereignty anywhere: liberty does not flow from political right, as was supposed in the eighteenth century; it is derived from natural right, so that it exists under all forms of government; and a monarchy may be free, nay, much more free than a republic. But this is neither the time nor the place to deliver a political lecture.

"I shall content myself with observing, that when the people dispose of thrones, they often also dispose of their own liberty. I shall remark that the principle of an hereditary monarchy, however absurd it may at first appear, has been recognized, in practice, as preferable to that of an elective monarchy. The reasons for it are so obvious, that I need not enlarge upon them. You choose one king to-day, and who shall hinder you from choosing another to-morrow? The law, you will say. The law? And it is you yourselves who make it!

"There is still a simpler mode of treating the question: it is to say, we repudiate the elder branch of the Bourbons. And why? Because we are victorious: we have triumphed in a just and holy cause; we use a double right of conquest. Very well. You proclaim the sovereignty of might: then take good care of this might; for if in a few months it escapes from you, you will have much to complain of. Such is human nature! The most enlightened and the purest minds do not always rise above success. Such minds were the first to invoke the principles of right in opposition to violence; they supported them with all the superiority of talent; and, at the very moment when the truth of what they have said has been demonstrated by the most abominable abuse of power, and by its signal overthrow, the conquerors recur to those arms

they have broken! They will find them to be dangerous weapons, which will wound their own hands without serving their cause.

"I have carried the scene of war to the territory of my adversaries. I do not mean to bivouac under the old banner of the dead; a banner which has not been inglorious, but which droops by the flag-staff which supports it, because no breath of life is there to raise it. When I move the dust of thirty-five Capets, I do not draw from it an argument which should exclusively be listened to. The idolatry of a name is abolished; monarchy is no longer a tenet of religious belief. It is a political form, which is preferable at this moment to every other, because it has the greatest tendency to reconcile good order with public liberty.

"Useless Cassandra! How often have I fatigued the throne and the peerage with disregarded warnings! It only remains for me to sit down on the last fragment of the shipwreck I have so often foretold. In misfortune I acknowledge every species of power except that of absolving me from my oaths of allegiance. It is my duty to make my life uniform. After all that I have done, said, and written for the Bourbons, I should be the meanest of wretches if I denied them at the moment when, for the third and last time, they are on the road to exile. Fear I leave to those generous royalists who have never

sacrificed a coin or a place to their loyalty; to those champions of the altar and the throne who lately treated me as a renegade, an apostate, and a revolutionist. Pious libellers, the renegade now calls upon you! Come, then, and stammer out a word, a single word, with him for the unfortunate master you have lost, and who loaded you with benefits. Instigators of *coups d'etat*, and preachers of constituent power, where are you? You hide yourselves in the mire, from under which you raised your heads to calumniate the faithful servants of the King. Your silence to-day is worthy of your language of yesterday. Ye gallant paladins, whose projected exploits have made the descendants of Henry IV. be driven from their throne at the point of the pitchfork, tremble now as ye crouch under the three-coloured cockade! The noble colours you display will protect your persons, but will not cover your cowardice.

"In thus frankly expressing my sentiments at the tribune, I have no idea that I am performing an act of heroism. Those times are past when opinions were expressed at personal hazard. If such were now the case, I should speak in a tone a hundred times louder. The best buckler is a breast which does not fear to show itself uncovered to the enemy. No, gentlemen, we have neither to fear a people whose reason is equal to their courage, nor that gene-

rous rising generation whom I admire, with whom I sympathize with all the faculties of my soul, and to whom, as to my country, I wish honour, glory, and liberty.

"Far from me, above all things, be the thought of serving the ends of discord in France. The spirit of this declaration has been my motive for excluding from what I have said every accent of passion. If I could convince myself that this child should be left in the happy ranks of obscurity, in order to procure the peace of thirty-three millions of men, I should have regarded every word as criminal which was not consistent with the wants of the nation. But I do not feel this conviction. Had I the disposal of a crown, I would willingly lay it at the feet of the Duke of Orleans. But all that I see vacant, is—not a throne, but a tomb at Saint Denis!

"Whatever destiny may await the Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, I shall never be his enemy, if he promotes my country's welfare. I only ask to retain my liberty of conscience, and the right of going to die where I shall find independence and repose.

"I vote against the declaration."

The other speakers in the debate were the Dukes de Choiseul, de Broglie, de Lorges, and Decazes, the Marquis de Verac, the Counts Molé, d'Audlau de Bouillé, Hocquart, de Pontecoulant, de Grosbois, de Bastard, de Tascher,

de Rougé, de Saint Maure, d'Audigné, and Forbin-des-Issart, the Viscount de Castel-Bajae, and the Baron de Barante. The total number of peers present was one hundred and fourteen, eighty-nine of whom voted for the declaration, ten against it, and fifteen declined voting. It was then decided that the declaration, as adopted by the Chamber, should be immediately carried to the Prince-Lieutenant-General by a grand deputation, which any other peer might have liberty to join. The deputation was immediately formed, and, with the Baron Pasquier at its head, proceeded to the Palais Royal, attended by the great body of the Chamber. It was ten o'clock in the evening when the discussion was closed, and some time after that hour when the Peers were received by the Duke of Orleans. On their being admitted, the following address was delivered by M. Pasquier:

"The Chamber of Peers are come to present to your Royal Highness the act which is to secure our future destiny. You formerly defended in arms our new and inexperienced liberties; today you are about to consecrate them by laws and institutions. We have the assurance in your exalted understanding, in your personal feelings, and in the recollections of your whole life, that we shall find in you a citizen King. You will respect those guarantees which are yours as well as ours. The noble family we see around you,

brought up in the love of their country, of justice, and of truth, will insure to our descendants the peaceable enjoyment of that Charter to the maintenance of which you are about to swear, and with it the benefits of a government, at once firm and free."

The Duke's answer to this address was to the following effect :—

" By presenting this declaration to me, you have testified a confidence with which I am deeply affected. Attached, from conviction, to constitutional principles, I desire nothing so much as a good understanding between the two Chambers. I thank you for this assurance that I shall not be disappointed. You have imposed a great task upon me: I shall endeavour to prove myself worthy of it."

On the following day, the 8th of August, the Duke de Chartres arrived in Paris, at the head of his regiment, the 1st Hussars. His father, and his younger brother, the Duke de Nemours, went out to meet him, surrounded by crowds of the working classes, in their holiday attire. The heat of the day was excessive ; and, as the progress of the cavalry was retarded by the state of the streets through which they had to pass, occasioned by the construction of the barricades, the Duke de Nemours was repeatedly heard to complain of excessive thirst. One of the workmen, engaged in replacing the stones which had

contributed so essentially to the recent victory, presented the young Prince with a bottle of wine. The latter accepted it eagerly; and, having quenched his thirst, offered the bottle to his father, who followed his example, and returned it to the worthy paviour, with all that *bon-hommie* and affability which agree so well with the character of the Duke of Orleans, and which have suggested his resembance to his popular ancestor "le bon Henri IV."

The portrait of Louis Philippe has been so admirably drawn by the original and inimitable pen of Paul Louis Courrier, that no apology will be expected for here introducing it.

"I love the Duke of Orleans, because, although born a prince, he condescended to become an honest man. He never made any promise to me; but had the occasion occurred, I would have trusted in him; and the compact once made, I believe that he would have kept his word, without any mental reserve or deliberation, and without consulting with the jesuits. My reason for thinking so is this:—he is of our own time; he belongs to this century, and not to the last, having seen little of what we call the *ancien regime*. He has fought in our ranks, so that our serjeants and corporals are not a bugbear to him. An emigrant without his own consent, he never fought against us, knowing too well what was due to his native soil, and that no one can be right with his coun-

try against him. He knows that, and many other things which are not easily found out in the rank to which he belongs. It was his good fortune which decided that he should descend from that rank, and live like ourselves, in his youth. From a prince he became a man. In France he fought our common enemies; out of France he laboured for his daily bread. Of him it cannot be said, "*Rien oublié, ni rien appris.*" He instructed foreigners, instead of begging from them. He did not beseech a Pitt, nor supplicate a Cobourg to avenge the cause of aristocracy, by ravaging our fields, and burning our villages. On his return he did not make it his business to found masses, and endow convents at our expense; but, wise in his conduct, and respectable in his morals, he has given an example which preaches better than the missionaries. In a word, he is an honest man. I wish, for my part, that all princes were like him; none of them would lose, and we should be gainers, by it. If he should ever govern, he will put many things in order, not merely by his good sense and prudence, but by another virtue which, although little celebrated, is not less valuable—I mean his economy—a homely, citizen-like quality, if you will, which the court abhors in a prince; but which to us, who pay the taxes, is so valuable, so admirable—shall I say so divine?—that with it I should almost pardon him for every other want.

"I speak of him as I now do, not because I know him better than you, nor perhaps so well, having never even seen him. I know only what is said of him; but the public is not so stupid as to be unfit to form a correct opinion of princes, when they live in public. Neither is it because I am his partisan—having never been of any party. I am no man's follower, not seeking my fortune in revolutions and counter-revolutions, which some are so dexterous in turning to their advantage. One of the people by birth, I remain among them by choice; and, were I called upon to choose, I would still be one of them—a peasant as I am."

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Duke of Orleans, as King elect of the French, takes the oath of fidelity to the new Constitution—Particulars of the solemnity—Speech of the new King—Concluding remarks, and Copy of the new Constitutional Charter.

THE 9th of August was the day appointed for completing the great work of the revolution, by the oath of fidelity which the Monarch elect was then to take to the new constitution, in presence of the assembled Chambers. The scene of this solemnity, like that at the opening of the session, was the temporary structure prepared for the accommodation of the Deputies. At an early hour in the morning every avenue was crowded, and, as soon as the doors were opened, the public galleries were filled. The diplomatic tribune was chiefly occupied by ladies. The throne was the same which had been erected for the opening of the session; but the fleur-de-lis had been removed

from the drapery, and other decorations. Four large three-coloured flags were displayed on either side of the throne, and in front of it three *tabourets* were placed, one for the monarch elect, and the others for the Dukes de Chartres and de Nemours. Two seats, similar in form, and covered with red silk, were placed in the centre of the hall for the Presidents of the respective Chambers. The crown, the sceptre, the sword of state, and the other insignia of royalty, were brought in upon a rich cushion, and placed upon a table at the right of the throne, behind which stood four of the Marshals of France, the Dukes of Tarentum, Trevisa, and Reggio, and the Count Molitor.

The gallery prepared for the reception of the royal family was opened at a quarter before two o'clock, when all eyes were turned towards it, to greet the entrance of her who was to enter Duchess of Orleans, and to go forth Queen of the French. The Princess was accompanied by Mademoiselle of Orleans, the sister of the Duke, and followed by the Princesses, and the Prince de Joinville, and the Duke de Montpensier.

The number of peers present was sixty-seven, among whom were the Baron Pasquier, the president; Messrs. de Richelieu, de Lanjuinais, de Montville, de Montalivet, d'Aligre, Chaptal, Dubreton, Dupuis, Bastard de l'Etang, Chateaubriand, de Valmy, de Vence, Barbé-Marbois,

d'Osmond, de St. Aulaire, de la Ville Gontier, du Coudray, de Boissy, de Plaisance, Dejean, de Montmorency, de Montesquieu, de Mathan, de Choiseul, de Caraman, Mollien, d'Avaray, de Talleyrand, de Castries, Tascher-de-la-Pagerie, M. Mathieu, Klein, de Nicolai, Fruguet, Séguier, Delaplace, Clément de Ris, Dode de la Brunerie, de Cadore, de Praslin, de Montebello, Belliard, Siméon, de Louvois, de Montemart, Roy, Claparède, Portal, Portalis, d'Haussonville, &c. Of the deputies of the *côté gauche* there was a full attendance, but the only members of the *côté droit* who made their appearance on this occasion, were M. Berryer, fils, M. de Lardemelle, M. de Murat, and M. Paul de Chateau-Double.

At half past two o'clock, the Duke of Orleans entered the hall, dressed, as at the opening of the sessions, in the uniform of Lieutenant-General. He was followed by his two sons, the Duke de Chartres, in the uniform of the hussars of Chartres, and the Duke de Nemours, in that of the chasseurs of Nemours. Attended by the two grand deputations, the Prince and his sons approached the *tabourets* in front of the throne, amidst the exclamations, from all parts of the house, of "Vive le Duc d' Orleans! Vive le Prince Lieutenant-General! Vive sa Famille." The Prince, having bowed repeatedly in acknowledgment of these salutations, sat down on the

stool or *tabouret* prepared for him, and, having desired the members of both Chambers to be seated, he put on his hat, as on the former occasion, and directed the president of the Chamber of Deputies to read the declaration of the Chamber.

M. Casimir Perier, who appeared at this sitting, for the first and only time before his resignation of the office of president, then rose and read the declaration, or bill of rights, which had passed the Chamber on the previous Saturday. On concluding it, he ascended the steps of the platform on which the Prince was seated, placed the declaration in his Royal Highness's hands, and returned to his seat. The prince then directed the President of the Chamber of Peers to bring him the act which attested the concurrence of the Peers of France in the declaration of the Chamber of Deputies. This ceremony was performed by the Baron Pasquier, with the same forms which had been observed by M. Casimir Perier. The Prince Lieutenant-General then addressed the two Chambers to the following effect:

"MESSIEURS LES PAIRS ET MESSIEURS LES DEPUTÉS!

"I have read with close attention the declaration of the Chamber of Deputies, and the act of concurrence by the Chamber of Peers. I have weighed and considered all their expressions. I accede, without restraint or reserve, to the

clauses and engagements contained in the declaration. I accept the title of King of the French, which it confers upon me; and I am ready to make oath to its observance."

This address was received with shouts of "*Vive le Roi! Vive Philippe I.!*" And the Duke, having raised his right hand, pronounced the following oath:

"In the presence of God, I swear faithfully to observe the constitutional Charter, with the changes and modifications expressed in the declaration of the Chamber of Deputies; to govern by the laws alone, and according to the laws; to cause due and exact justice to be administered to every one, according to his right; and, in all things, to act with the sole view of promoting the happiness and glory of the French people."

After pronouncing the words of the oath, the King proceeded to the table, and signed the declaration, the act of concurrence, and the formula of the oath which he had just taken, amidst shouts of "*Vive le Roi! Vive la Reine! Vive la Famille Royale!*" In the mean time, the stool on which he had sitten having been removed, he ascended the throne, and pronounced the following speech:

"MESSIEURS LES PAIRS ET MESSIEURS LES DEPUTÉS!

"I have maturely reflected on the important duties which are laid upon me; I trust that I

shall be able to discharge them, by observing the compact which has now been entered into.

"I could have sincerely desired never to occupy the throne to which the will of the nation has now called me; but I yield to the wish expressed by the Chambers, in the name of the French people, for the maintenance of the charter and the laws.

"The future happiness and security of France are guaranteed by the modifications which we have just made in the Charter. Prosperous at home, respected abroad, and at peace with Europe, the interests of the nation will be more and more consolidated."

Thus the key-stone of the broken arch was replaced. Let us hope that the materials employed in rebuilding the social fabric may prove sound and durable, and reciprocally well adapted. It does not enter into the plan of the present volume to pursue the subject farther. Subjoined is a copy of the new constitutional Charter, extracted from the Bulletin des Lois; and, in order to afford the means of comparing the new charter with its predecessor of 1814, the suppressed clauses, with notices of the other alterations, will be found in notes at the bottom of the pages.

3. They are all equally admissible to civil and military employments.

4. Their individual liberty is alike guaranteed, no one being liable to be prosecuted or arrested, except in the cases provided, and in the form prescribed, by law.

5. Every man professes his religion with equal liberty, and obtains for his worship the same protection

6. * The ministers of the catholic, apostolic, and Ro-

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those ancient assemblies of the fields of March and May, and those Chambers of the third estate, which have so often afforded evidence of zeal for the interest of the people, of fidelity and respect for the authority of the King. By thus endeavouring to restore the continuity of the chain of time, which sad events have interrupted, we have effaced from our remembrance, as we could wish to be able to efface from the page of history, all the evils which, during our absence, have afflicted the country. Happy to find ourselves once more in the bosom of the great family, we have thought that we should best answer the affection of which we receive so many testimonies, by pronouncing the words of peace and consolation. The wish dearest to our heart is that Frenchmen should live as brothers, and that no bitter recollection should ever disturb the security which ought to follow the solemn act which we now grant to them.

"Sure of our intentions, and strong in our conscience, we engage, before the assembly which now listens to us, to be faithful to this constitutional Charter, reserving to ourselves to swear to its maintenance with new solemnity, before the altars of Him who weighs kings and nations in the same balance.

"For these reasons we have voluntarily, and in the free exercise of our royal authority, granted, and now grant, and make gift and concession of, to our subjects, for ourselves, and our successors for ever, the following Constitutional Charter."

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* This article is substituted for the two following in the original Charter:—

man religion, professed by the majority of the French, and those of other forms of Christian worship, receive stipends from the public treasury.

7. * Frenchmen have the right to publish and print their opinions, on conforming themselves to the laws. The censorship can never be re-established.

8. All property is inviolable, without excepting that which is called national, the law making no difference in this respect.

9. The state may require the sacrifice of property for the sake of the public interest legally proved, but with a previous indemnity.

10. All inquisition respecting opinions expressed, and votes given, previously to the restoration, is interdicted. The same oblivion is enjoined to the tribunals, and to the citizens.

11. The conscription is abolished. The mode of recruiting the land and sea forces is determined by law.

FORMS OF THE KING'S GOVERNMENT.

12. The King's person is inviolable and sacred. His Ministers are responsible. To the King alone belongs the executive power.

"6. However, the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, is the religion of the state.

"7. The ministers of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, and those of other forms of Christian worship, alone receive stipends from the royal treasury."

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* The corresponding article of the original Charter, was in the following terms:

"8. Frenchmen have the right to publish and print their opinions, on conforming themselves to the laws, which ought to repress the abuses of this liberty."

13.* The King is the supreme head of the state; he commands the forces by land and sea, declares war, makes treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce, appoints to all employments in the public administration, and makes the regulations and ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws, without ever having the power either to suspend the laws themselves, or to dispense with their execution. No foreign troops, however, can be admitted into the service of the state but by virtue of a law.

14.† The legislative power is exercised collectively by the King, the Chamber of Peers, and the Chamber of Deputies.

15.‡ The proposition of laws belongs to the King, the

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* The following is the corresponding article in the original Charter:—

"14. The King is the supreme head of the state; he commands the forces by land and sea; makes treaties of peace, alliance, and commerce; appoints to all employments in the public administration; and makes the regulations and ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws AND THE SAFETY OF THE STATE."

It will be seen from the ministerial report, on which the ordinances of the 25th of July are professedly founded, that great reliance was placed on the words which are here suppressed, as authorizing the *coup d'etat* which produced the late revolution.

† "15. The legislative power is exercised collectively by the King, the Chamber of Peers, and the Chamber of Deputies *of departments.*

‡ The two following articles of the original Charter are those for which the 15th has been substituted:—

"16. The King proposes the law.

"17. The proposition of the law is carried, at the King's pleasure, to the Chamber of Peers, or to the Chamber of Deputies; except the law of taxation, which must first be addressed to the Chamber of Deputies."

Chamber of Peers, and the Chamber of Deputies. Nevertheless, every law of taxes must be first voted by the Chamber of Deputies.

16. Every law must be freely discussed, and voted by the majority of each of the two Chambers.

17.* If the proposition of a law has been rejected by one of the three powers, it cannot be brought forward again in the same session.

18. The King alone sanctions and promulgates the laws.

19. The civil list is fixed for the whole duration of the reign, by the first legislative assembly after the King's accession.

OF THE CHAMBER OF PEERS.

20. The Chamber of Peers is an essential portion of the legislative power.

21. It is convoked by the King at the same time as the Chamber of Deputies. The session of the one commences and finishes at the same time as that of the other.

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* The three following clauses of the old Charter are those which have been replaced by the 17th of the new:

"19. The Chambers have the faculty of petitioning the King to propose a law on any subject whatever, and of pointing out what, to them, it appears proper that the law should contain.

"20. This application may be made by each of the two Chambers, but after having been discussed in secret committee. It shall not be sent to the other Chamber, by that which shall have proposed it, until after a delay of ten days.

"21. If the proposition be adopted by the other Chamber, it shall be submitted to the King; if it be rejected, it shall not be presented again during the same session."

22.* Every assembly of the Chamber of Peers, which shall be held at a period beyond that of the session of the Chamber of Deputies, is illegal, void, and of no effect; except the single case in which it meets as a court of justice, and then it can only exercise judicial functions.

23. The nomination of the Peers of France belongs to the King. Their number is unlimited. He can vary their dignities, create them for life, or render them hereditary, according to his will.

24. Peers are admissible to the Chamber at twenty-five years of age, but have a deliberative voice at thirty years only.

25. The Chancellor of France is President of the Chamber of Peers, and, in his absence, a peer nominated by the King.

26.† The Princes of the blood are peers in right of their birth; they take their seats immediately after the President.

27.‡ The sittings of the Chamber of Peers are public, like those of the Chamber of Deputies.

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* "26. (Corresponding to the 22nd.) Every meeting of the Chamber of Peers which shall be held at a period beyond that of the session of the Chamber of Deputies, or which shall not be ordained by the King, is illegal and void."

† "30. (Corresponding to the 26th.) The members of the royal family, and the princes of the blood, are peers by right of birth. They take their seats immediately after the president, but they have no deliberative voice until after their twenty-fifth year.

"31. (Suppressed.) The Princes cannot take their seats in the Chamber but by order of the King, expressed each session by a message, under pain of the nullity of all which shall have been done in their presence."

‡ "32. (Substituted for the 27th.) All the deliberations of the Chamber of Peers shall be secret."

28. * The Chamber of Peers takes cognizance of crimes against the safety of the state, and of crimes of high treason, which shall be defined by law.

29. No Peer can be arrested but upon the authority of the Chamber, nor tried in criminal matters but by that Assembly.

OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

30. The Chamber of Deputies shall be composed of the Deputies elected by the Electoral College, the organization of which shall be determined by law.

31.† The Deputies are elected for five years.

32. ‡ No Deputy can be admitted into the Chamber if he be not thirty years of age, and if he do not possess the other qualifications prescribed by law.

33. § Nevertheless, if there should not be in the department fifty persons of the age specified, paying the amount of taxation for eligibility as fixed by law, their number shall be completed by those who pay the highest amount of taxes, under the amount of the qualify-

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* "33. (Answering to the 28th.) The Chamber of Peers takes cognizance of crimes of high treason, and attempts against the safety of the state, which shall be defined by law."

† The two following articles, which had been previously repealed, are replaced by the 31st:

"36. Each department shall have the same number of Deputies which it has had till now.

"37. The Deputies shall be elected for five years, so as that the Chamber may be renewed each year by a fifth."

‡ "38. (Answering to the 32nd.) No Deputy can be admitted into the Chamber if he be not forty years of age; and if he do not pay direct taxes to the amount of a thousand francs."

§ "39. (Answering to the 33rd.) Nevertheless, if there should not be fifty persons in the department of the specified age, paying at least a thousand francs of direct taxes, their number shall be completed by those who pay the highest

ing taxation, and these may be elected in concurrence with the former.

34. * No man is an elector under twenty-five years of age, nor without the other qualifications prescribed by law.

35.† The Presidents of the Electoral Colleges are appointed by the electors.

36. The moiety, at least, of the Deputies, shall be chosen from among the persons eligible, who have their political residence in the department.

37.‡ The President of the Chamber of Deputies is elected by the Chamber at the opening of each Session.

38. The sittings of the Chamber are public; but on the demand of five members, it resolves into a secret committee.

39. The Chamber divides itself into bureau (divisions or committees) for the discussion of laws which have been presented to it on the part of the King. §

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amount of taxes under a thousand francs; and these may be elected in concurrence with the former."

* "40. (Answering to the 34th.) The electors who concur in the nomination of Deputies can have no right of suffrage if they do not pay direct taxes to the amount of three hundred francs, and if they be under thirty years of age."

† "41. (Answering to the 35th.) The Presidents of the Electoral Colleges shall be named by the King, and shall have right as members of the College."

‡ "43. (Answering to the 37th.) The President of the Chamber of Deputies is named by the King from a list of five members presented by the Chamber."

§ "46. (Suppressed.) No amendment of a law can be made if it has not been proposed or consented to by the King, and if it has not been discussed in committee." (This clause in the original Charter immediately followed that which is now the 39th.)

40. No tax can be established or collected if it has not been consented to by the two Chambers, and sanctioned by the King.

41. The land tax is only agreed to for one year. The indirect taxes may be voted for several years.

42. The King convokes the two Chambers every year. He prorogues them, and may dissolve that of the Deputies; but in this case he must convoke a new one within the space of three months.

43. No bodily constraint can be exercised against a member of the Chamber during the session, or within the six weeks which shall immediately precede or follow it.

44. No member of the Chamber can, during the session, be prosecuted or arrested for criminal matters, except taken in the fact, until after the Chamber has authorized his prosecution.

45. No petition can be made and presented to either of the Chambers but in writing. The law interdicts any petitions being carried in person to the bar.

OF THE MINISTERS.

46. Ministers may be members of the Chamber of Peers or of the Chamber of Deputies. They have, moreover, the right of entrance into either Chamber, and must be heard when they demand it.

47. The Chamber of Deputies has the right to impeach Ministers, and send them for trial before the Chamber of Peers, which alone has the right of judging them.*

"47. (Suppressed.) The Chamber of Deputies receives all propositions for taxes. It is only after these propositions have been admitted, that they can be carried to the Chamber of Peers.

* "56. (Suppressed.) They cannot be accused but for an

OF THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

48. All justice emanates from the King; it is administered in his name by Judges, whom he appoints and institutes.

49. The Judges nominated by the King are appointed for life.

50. The ordinary courts and tribunals actually existing are maintained; no change shall be made therein but in virtue of a law.

51. The existing institution of Judges of Commerce is preserved.

52. The office of justice of peace is likewise preserved. Justices of peace, although nominated by the King, are not necessarily appointed for life.

53. No one can be deprived of his natural judges.

54. * Consequently no extraordinary commissions and tribunals can be created under any title or denomination whatsoever.

55. The proceedings in criminal matters shall be public, unless this publicity be dangerous to good order and morality; and in this case the tribunals shall so declare it by their judgment.

56. The institution of juries is preserved. The changes which longer experience may show to be necessary, can only be effected by a law.

57. The penalty of confiscation of goods is abolished, and cannot be re-established.

58. The King has a right to grant pardon and to commute punishment.

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act of treason or exaction. The nature of these offences shall be specified by separate laws, which shall determine the form of prosecution." (This article follows the 47th.)

* "63. (Answering to 54th.) Consequently no extraordinary commissions or tribunals can be created. The prevotal jurisdictions are not included under this denomination, if their re-establishment shall be judged necessary."

59. The civil code and the laws actually existing, which are not contrary to the present Charter, remain in force until they be legally repealed.

SPECIAL RIGHTS GUARANTEED BY THE STATE.

60. Military men in active service, officers, and privates on the retired list, widows, pensioned officers, and privates, shall retain their rank, honours, and pensions.

61. The public debt is guaranteed. Every kind of engagement entered into by the State, with its creditors, is inviolable.

62. The ancient *noblesse* resume their titles, and the new retain theirs. The King creates nobles at pleasure; but he only grants them rank and honour, without any exemption from the charges and duties of society.

63. The Legion of Honour is maintained. The King shall determine the regulations and decorations.

64.* The colonies are governed by special laws.

65.† The King and his successor shall swear, at their accession, in presence of the assembled Chambers, to observe faithfully the constitutional Charter.

66. The present Charter, and all the rights which it consecrates, remain entrusted to the patriotism and courage of the National Guards, and all French citizens.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

67. France resumes her colours. In future, no cockade shall be worn but the three-coloured.

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* "73. (Answering to 64th.) The colonies shall be governed by special laws and regulations."

† "74 (Answering to 65th.) The King and his successors shall swear, at the solemnity of their coronation, to observe faithfully the present constitutional Charter."

SPECIAL PROVISIONS.

68. All the new nominations and creations of Peers made under the reign of King Charles X. are declared null and void. The 23rd Article of the Charter shall be subjected to a new examination in the session of 1831.

69. Provision shall be made in succession, by distinct laws, and within the shortest period possible, for the following objects:—1st. The application of the jury to offences by the press, and political offences; 2ndly, the responsibility of Ministers and other Government agents; 3rdly, re-election in place of such Deputies as are appointed to public offices, with salaries; 4thly, the annual vote of the contingent of the Army; 5thly, the organization of the National Guard, with the intervention of the members in the choice of their officers; 6thly, provisions securing, in a legal manner, the situation of the officers of the land and sea forces of every rank; 7thly, departmental and municipal institutions, founded upon an elective system; 8thly, public education, and freedom of education; 9thly, the abolition of the double vote, and the definition of the qualification to become Electors and Deputies.

70. All former laws and ordinances, so far as they are contrary to the provisions adopted for the reform of the Charter, are from henceforth, and remain, annulled and abrogated.

We command our courts and tribunals, administrative bodies, and all others, to keep and maintain the present constitutional Charter, and cause it to be kept, observed, and maintained; and, in order that all persons may become acquainted with it, to cause it to be published in all the municipalities of the kingdom, and wherever need may be; and, to the end that it may be

a thing firm and stable for ever, we have hereunto affixed our seal.

Given at the Palais Royal, at Paris, the fourteenth day of August, 1830.

LOUIS PHILIPPE.

By the King: *The Minister Secretary of State for the Department of the Interior—*

GUIZOT.

Seen and sealed with the great seal: *The Keeper of the Seals, Minister Secretary of State for the Department of Justice—*

DUPONT (DE L'EURE.)

THE END.

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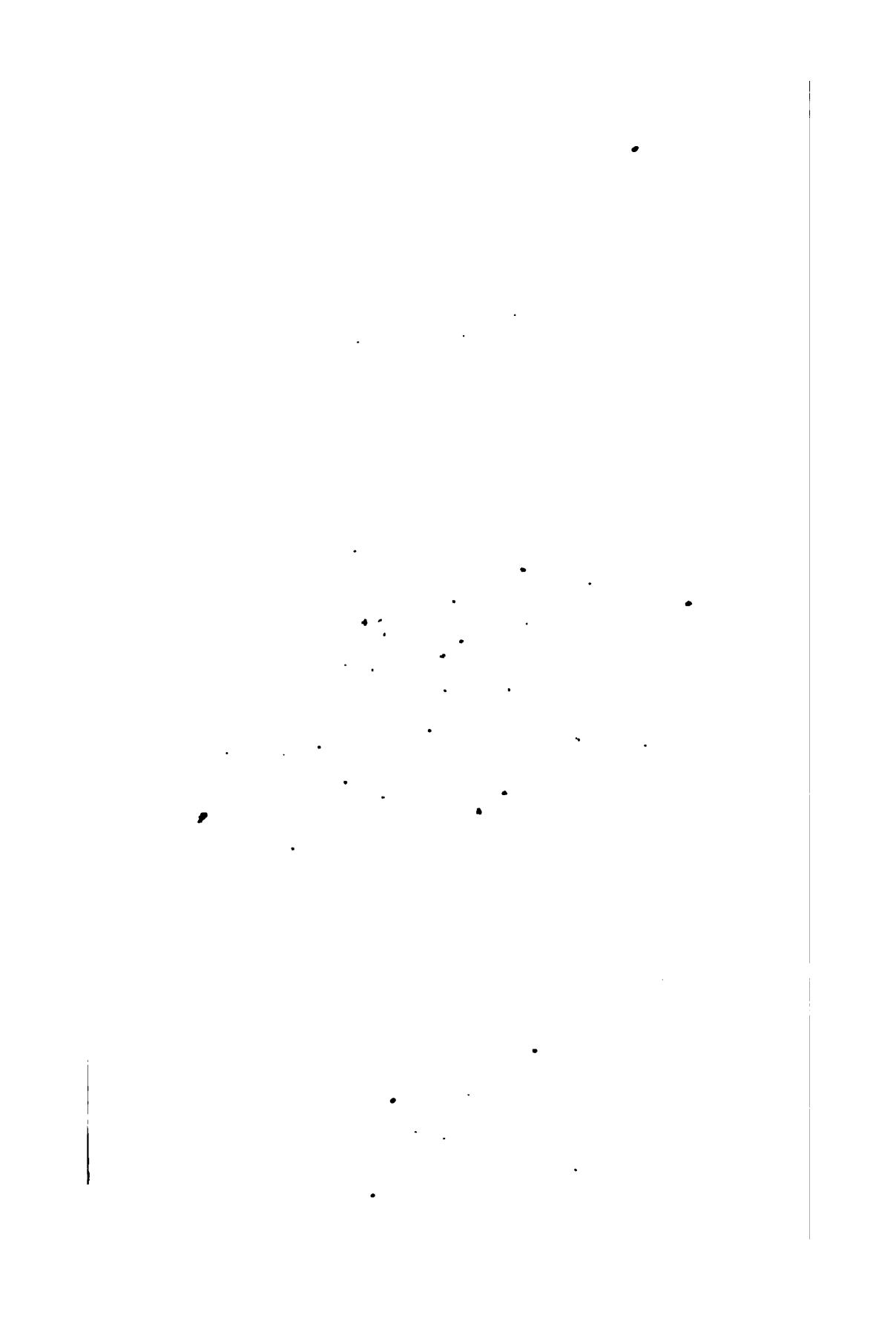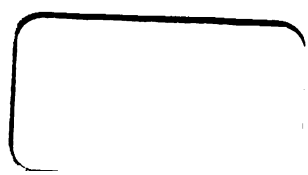
Page 10, line 13, *for* regiments, *read* legions.
16, 3, from the bottom, *for* Ferronnez, *read* Ferronnays.
33, 18 and 22, *for* pages, *read* sheets.
50, 22, *for* Lapelanze, *read* Lapelouze.
50, 28, *for* Jean, *read* Leon.
57, 14, *for* of the laws, *read* or the laws.